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# The Nation

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Vol. CX, No. 2858

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Saturday, April 10, 1920

Two Sections

Section I

## The Destiny of Ireland

Attitude of British Labor, Report of Its Commission, and  
Text of Home Rule Bill

—

## Future Trade With Russia

By Restoring the Railways America Can Unlock the Food  
and Other Raw Materials That Western Europe Needs

—

## Spring Book Supplement

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Publication Date, April 20

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# The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CX

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1920

No. 2858

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE NATION PRESS, INC.

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, \$5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, \$6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, NEW YORK. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agents for Subscriptions and Advertising: Swarthmore Press, Ltd., 72 Oxford St., London.

"I AM not in politics," declared Mr. Hoover on February 18. "No, I am not now or at any other time going to have anything to say on the political situation." "I am not a party man," he added on February 24. "Before I can answer whether I am a Democrat or Republican, I shall have to know how each party stands on those issues" (the "forty live issues in this country today"). Eighteen days earlier he had also declared that "until it more definitely appears what party managers stand for, I must exercise a prerogative of American citizenship and decline to pledge my vote blindfold." But he was willing then to go either Democratic or Republican, for he said "I must vote for the party that stands for the League." By March 11 he stated in a letter to Ralph Arnold, of Los Angeles, that he was an "independent progressive," objecting "as much to the reactionary group in the Republican party as I do to the radical group in the Democratic." On March 30 Mr. Hoover telegraphed to the Hoover Republican Club that "recent developments over the treaty . . . convince me that it is my duty to confirm the action that my Republican friends there [California] have already taken without consulting me." Therefore, he declares, without

waiting to hear from party managers or parties, "if the Republican party, with the independent element of which I am naturally affiliated, adopts a forward-looking, liberal, constructive platform on the treaty and on our economic issues . . . and is neither reactionary nor radical in its approach to our great domestic questions . . . I will give it my entire support." "While I do not and will not myself seek the nomination," he concluded, "if it is felt that the issues necessitate it and it is demanded of me, I cannot refuse service." On April 3, Mr. Hoover further illuminated his situation by writing "I trust I shall not be further embarrassed by suggestion of some independents of alternative placing my name before *any other party*, for a primary sense of team-work in any party organization would preclude such a possibility." Thus, at last, Mr. Hoover lands squarely in the Republican camp, is in a receptive mood toward the Presidency, and is finally in politics. But what is the public to think of such political inconsistency and instability as this brief record reveals?

IF one may judge from the recent confused and contradictory dispatches from Germany, there has been a partial settlement between the Government at Berlin and the workmen's army in the Ruhr district. For the moment Germany has another breathing spell; any immediate danger of a renewal of the general strike is at an end. Yet we cannot believe that the danger of Bolshevism is over in Germany any more than in Italy, where there is great anxiety as to what will take place on the first of May. We cannot feel that the compromise Cabinet of Herman Mueller, comprising as it does Majority Socialists, Democrats, and members of the Center, has the ability or the strength to last very long. The next eight weeks are critical ones for Germany. The American Friends' Unit cables from Berlin that the pinch of food will be greatest in April and in May. In addition, Ebert is giving no signs of moving vigorously against Luettwitz and Kapp. There is no evidence that he has put them under arrest, or that he is capitalizing in any way the indignation of the working people at the attempt to restore the monarchy. He does not even seem to have disarmed the Baltic troops who supported Kapp. Allowing for all his difficulties, Ebert must surely show much greater force of character and determination to rule than he has yet displayed, if there is not to be a renewal of trouble. In present circumstances, he cannot win the respect or the support of the labor unions, of the liberal minded, or of the Independent Socialists who have not gone over to Communism.

THE French threat to march further into Germany, if executed, will reveal more clearly than ever the imperialistic designs of the present rulers of France, which most press commentators both here and abroad have refused to recognize. The truth is, as the New York World's Paris correspondents have been bringing out, that the French, having learned nothing from past experience, are bent on taking the Palatinate and as much more of the left Rhine bank as they

can walk off with. Any excuse would do. If it were not the marching of troops into the Ruhr district, it would be something else. The pretense is, of course, that the approach of the Reichswehr menaces France and violates the treaty. But the treaty has already been breached in half a dozen other places, usually with the consent of the Allies. As for any of the existing German troops being a menace to France, that is preposterous in view of the fact that Ebert's soldiers could hardly make headway against undisciplined and unorganized German Communists. The French press would have declared Ebert guilty of a wrong to the Allies and his own people if he had not sought to put down the Red revolt in the Ruhr district in the promptest possible way. England will have nothing to do with this undertaking, which will inevitably increase the growing tension between her people and the French.

IF the London *Times* is correctly informed, the Lenin Government has taken a remarkable action in regard to China, and set an example of international generosity and fair play to all the nations of the world, and particularly to those who have been holding up their hands in horror at the Soviets. According to a dispatch from Peking, dated March 29, the Moscow Government has sent a communication to the Peking Government expressing its sense of outrage at the crimes committed against China by the great capitalistic Powers and offering to annul all its treaties with China and to renounce all the privileges improperly acquired from China by the Government of the Czar. Thus, China is urged to resume negotiations for the restoration of the Chinese Eastern Railway, for the cancellation of the protocol of 1901, and of all the extra-territorial rights heretofore enjoyed by the Russians. In addition, Moscow proposes to renounce the rest of the Boxer indemnity, the special privileges of missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church, and all mining rights in China. Furthermore, as an act of reparation, Lenin offers to give to China without charge the great Russian tea factories at Hankow. The only condition for all this is that the Chinese people shall have complete freedom to determine their own system of government. There is also, apparently, a vague offer of military assistance against foreign intervention. The *Times* correspondent says that China will gladly accept the offer. Why not? It is an action almost without parallel, and it ought to be, but will not be, followed by the governments of Japan, France, and Great Britain, those virtuous opponents of Bolshevism and exploiters of China.

THAT the Danish people are less grasping than their rulers is apparent from the storm of protest which arose out of King Christian's dismissal of the Zahle radical Ministry as a result of the plebiscite in the second Schleswig zone in favor of Germany. There is, however, strong agitation among the opposition parties for at least the provisional internationalization of the second zone and particularly of the town of Flensburg. The unexpectedness of the King's coup is shown by the fact that the Rigsdag had adjourned for the Easter recess. The action had unforeseen results, for at numerous mass meetings the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic were advocated, and the Congress of Trades Unions passed a resolution for a general strike to begin on April 6. Strikes were reported in many towns. Apparently these protests have not been without effect. The King, in response to a deputation

of town Councillors, accompanied by about 40,000 orderly but determined petitioners, called a conference of the leaders of all political parties at the palace on April 3. As a result the new Conservative Premier, M. Liebe, resigned on the understanding that a new Cabinet would be formed under M. Friis, formerly Director of the Ministry of Justice. In addition, amnesty was granted to political offenders, and electoral reforms, and a general election on April 22, were promised. The order for a general strike was officially rescinded though many of the workers seemed disposed to disregard this action.

THE two and a half million members of the French labor unions are planning to tax themselves one franc each for the relief of their comrade "enemies" in Austria. Other labor groups have already taken similar action. A first train of thirty-seven carloads of food, paid for through the International Federation of Labor Unions, crossed Europe from Holland to Vienna in February. Danish trade unions are lending their reserve funds at low interest to German unions for relief work. A group of Italian Socialist municipalities are providing for ten thousand famished Austrian children on the Italian Riviera. Dutch union members worked a full holiday, and turned over the day's wages, more than half a million florins, for the starving children of Vienna. The British miners and textile workers have contributed generously to the Quaker relief work in Central Europe. In days when the League of Nations is dissipating into squabbling imperialism, when even the financial Internationale hesitates, appalled by the specter of Bolshevism, it is a pleasure to record the spontaneous good-will of ordinary human beings, creating, if not a league, then an unconscious society of nations. American labor, unfortunately, still stands aloof.

IN spite of the opposition of the Church of England, the Roman Church, and various lay bodies, the Matrimonial Causes bill, offering wider facilities for divorce in England, passed its second reading on March 24. The bill, sponsored by Lord Buckmaster and supported by the Lord Chancellor, Baron Birkenhead, is the first general divorce legislation to be introduced since the starting of the war and is based on the report of the Royal Commission on Divorce, submitted in 1912. It widens the grounds of divorce, puts both sexes on an equality in obtaining releases, and, by establishing courts in various sections of the country empowered to handle such cases, makes it possible for persons of limited means to secure divorces. The debate on the bill was characterized by a degree of oratorical fervor that only a question involving public or private morality can evoke. Lord Braye, a Catholic, challenged the right of Parliament to legislate in the matter of divorce, declaring that "marriage was made not in the House of Commons but in a place which does not at all resemble the House of Commons—in Heaven." The Archbishop of York cited, as a cause for opposition, the startling increase in divorce under the present law. The various petitions for matrimonial relief, most of which result in divorce proceedings, have more than doubled in the last year and have multiplied five times since the Royal Commission's report in 1912. Lord Phillimore, also in opposition to the bill, told warning tales of the methods of "western judges" in the United States, and said "the state of America is of course known to all of us." In spite of clerical head-shaking, however,



and of the reputed plight of family life in the United States, it was made evident by the vote that the public mind of England is no longer bound to the notion that suppression makes for morality and that only the upper classes can be trusted with self-determination in marriage and divorce.

**W**ILL the united protest of New York labor, the neighborhood houses, the teachers, the City Club, and a host of aroused citizens prevent Speaker Sweet's phalanx of obscurantism from destroying freedom of education in the State? The five bills introduced at the instance of the Lusk Committee are far more than a thrust at Socialist schools: they aim to introduce in all educational institutions an espionage and bureaucratic control of opinion which could not be desired except by a ruling minority who hear the crack of their doom in popular enlightenment. First, all "schools, institutes, classes, or courses of instruction" other than public or recognized religious schools, must be licensed; second, all teachers must hold "certificates of loyalty." Such licenses and certificates would be revocable at any time without hearing and without trial. An appropriation bill would enable the State Attorney General to maintain a staff of spies to see that teachers and lecturers did not cross the deadline. In short, nothing would be inculcated in young or old which could not be approved by the most ignorant secret agent of a political machine which confuses social insurance with Bolshevism and without a qualm outlaws a political party. Such measures are almost too absurdly at variance with the American tradition to arouse the indignation they merit.

**W**ITH much hysteria and excitement, the Legislature at Albany has passed the eleven bills designed to curb rent profiteering in New York City and Governor Smith has made them law. They are nothing but temporary paltering with the situation, and, in the opinion of conservative and decent real estate men in New York, will make the situation worse, despite the fact that the landlords are still allowed rent increases of twenty-five per cent a year. For this the grasping landlords have only themselves to blame. When it was proposed to limit profits to twenty per cent net income on the assessed values, one of them protested, saying, "We want all the money we can get." And the day was not saved by one of those moderates, who shrink from a logical case, saying: "We mustn't try to jab it in too soon." Some of the landlords have had lean years and one of them was frank enough to say "We expect to obtain enough in the next two years to tide us over the next five years." That is the story of real estate conditions in New York—rich profits some years and many lean months following. Plainly, it is a situation that calls not for legislation in hot haste, but for the most careful study and scrutiny, and a digging down to the root of things. If private capital cannot master the situation, if the law of supply and demand will not take care of the mounting congestion and provide adequate living quarters, then the city or the State will inevitably take a hand.

**T**HAT government interference does not always work well is clear enough from the experience of England whose over-crowded inhabitants would be glad of some houses—say 500,000 for a beginning. In the last fifteen months, mild state-aid schemes have given them only 246 houses, although the British people can cheer up each even-

ing by going to one of the many new motion picture palaces being built throughout the country. In New York city the danger is that the Albany emergency devices will merely stay public clamor without relieving the housing shortage. The city's present need is 40,000 apartments. At the height of the housing shortage last year, about 20,000 flats were still vacant—"old law" tenements erected before the enactment of the Tenement House law. Some of these have been and are being remodeled and made use of, but if the situation grows worse, there will be such proposals as those of the National Conference of Labor Women in England for rationing rooms in unoccupied or partially occupied houses, a measure that has actually been put into effect in Munich and many other German cities. Our land reformers insist that the way out is by taxation of land values and the forcing of unoccupied lands into use. The landlords and dealers in mortgages feel that the thing to do is to attract more capital into the business by lighter taxation, and more stable returns. One thing is plain: it is no time for half-way measures. The problem must be studied as a whole and there must be far-reaching remedies applied.

**T**RAD union adherents of the Labor party will be deeply indebted to Mr. W. G. Lee, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, for his endorsement of General Wood for the Presidency. No better illustration could be offered of the futile vagaries to which labor officials who attempt the "non-partisan" policy are liable. It has long been known that Mr. Lee is not sympathetic with the Plumb plan, but it could not have been expected by his most sanguine opponents that he would entangle himself with a candidate who is opposed to all forms of government ownership and sees eye to eye with the large industrial interests on virtually every question. Mr. Lee's statement should be tacked to the wall of every union office and kept there as an example of what the policy of political compromise leads to.

**H**ANGING and wiving go by destiny. For every Jonathan Wild there is somewhere an adequate John Ketch; from the ends of the earth noose and neck rush to meet each other. For every Jack there is some compliant Jill; from all the plains and valleys the couples scramble up to the difficult ark of matrimony. Sheba travels to Solomon and the event is set down in the book of Kings. Caesar rules over Rome and Cleopatra over Egypt, but the wet sundering leagues cannot separate them. Nat Goodwin, it is true, never married Lillian Russell, but the universe felt that something had gone amiss. Destiny had fallen down. How then should Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks fail to swing into the orbit calculated from the beginning? If she is not queen of her particular Sheba, Sheba never had a queen. If he is not the gayest of Solomons, at least he has written a book, and unquestionably he rules his jovial dominion in his own right. In this wedding the royal line crosses. It is as expected and as gratifying as the conclusion of a feature film. Obstacles have kept the prince and princess apart, but obstacles do not last forever. After the conflict there must be peace, and before the final curtain there must be a happy ending. How evil are those dispositions which interpret this amalgamation of splendors in economic terms; which hint that the joint revenue of the pair—to judge by figures made elaborately public—will be three times what he earned before; which calculate that his income will actually pay her income tax.

## Treason to America

NO more dangerous blow has been struck at our republican institutions than the long-expected ousting of the five Socialists from the Assembly at Albany, coupled as it is with the threat to bar the Socialists from the polls in New York State until the party's creed is made over to suit the Republican masters at Albany. Speaker Sweet's crass ignorance of what constitutes the soul of American institutions is significant because there are so many in press and pulpit and office to share and applaud his offense. When American democracy can thus be stabbed in the back by those who avow that they alone can speak in her name, it is time for another De Tocqueville or Bryce to write not of a triumphant but of a retrograding democracy. We do not believe in the practice of denouncing as betrayers of their country those whose opinions one dislikes, but if the words "traitors to America" apply to anyone it is to Sweet and Cuvillier and the rest of their cohorts who defend America from doctrines they do not like by striking the deadliest possible blow at freedom of thought and freedom of representation in government.

Convicted of no act of wrongdoing, these five Socialists have been ousted because of their opinions, because of the rapidly growing fear of the Socialist power in this and in other countries, and because our self-constituted saviors of society saw a chance to utilize the general atmosphere of hysteria for partisan purposes. If one grants to them sincerity in their crusade to free us from a political menace, then must one also attribute to them blindness as to what such procedure has always resulted in the world over and a lack of ordinary human intelligence hardly to be conceived. It would seem as if the alternative, stupidity and insincerity, were the better presumption. In either event, the Republican leaders have helped the Socialist cause immeasurably and have made Americans by tens of thousands declare that political government has collapsed. Sweet and his compatriots are forcing an issue they will be the first to run from, and they are the least fitted to deal with. They have greatly advanced the day of revolution, social and economic, the likelihood of which is hourly demonstrated by the total inability of the two great political parties in the nation to remedy any of the existing evils, to give us a program which will in the slightest degree voice the needs and aspirations of the multitude.

What the Albany Republicans have done is the result of the inevitable reaction which always comes to their type of mind after a war. It bears out the predictions of those who maintained from the day of our entering the struggle that the question was not how far the world's democracy would be safeguarded and advanced, but how deep and far-reaching would be the damage to our own. Reaction is the same everywhere and at all times. An ardent upholder of the existing order, William Roscoe Thayer, once wrote:

But that is the defect of the Tory. However patriotic he may be, he is blind to patriotism in others. The Tories of 1775 supposed that the patriotic unrest of the American colonists was only a financial irritation; the Tories of 1859 set down Italian patriotism as a mask for dynastic greed; the Tories of 1862 supposed that the motives which impelled Lincoln and the North to preserve the American Union and abolish slavery were purely commercial. . . . That is the penalty of a Conservative—he cannot understand the ideals which beckon mankind forward.

## Ireland and British Labor

IRELAND, which long ago repudiated British sovereignty, will not accept a narrow measure of Home Rule from a Government which has apparently lost the confidence of the British people themselves. The new bill, adopted by the Coalition as a result of what Lloyd George calls a "practical" consideration of the question, has so little political reality that it amounts to nothing more than a new commentary on the insincerity of the Conservative-Liberal leadership. Its only practical effect, as George and Carson must know, will be a continuation of the policy by which, according to the British Labor party's Irish Commission, "every institution of which we as British citizens are so proud—a free press, freedom of speech, liberty of the subject, and trial by jury—are things of the past in a large part of Ireland, and rule by military force, which we sought to destroy when resorted to by Germany, is an established fact in the south and southwest of Ireland." Ireland will await new political alignments. The bill itself is not so important as the position that will be taken toward it by British Governments of the future. What has Ireland to hope from the independent Liberals or from Labor?

"What did Home Rule mean to us?" rhetorically queried Asquith in the three days' debate of last week in the House of Commons. "Votes," was the prompt reply from the Government benches, and the House roared with laughter. It was a fair hit, for the former Premier's strength was in the Nationalist-Liberal bloc in Parliament, and his collapse in the face of Ulster direct action forever robbed him of the chance to revive it. Moreover, his present position can do little more than attract votes at the polls, for it does not include the first essential of a policy which could result in actual dealing with Ireland—the recognition of Irish right to independence. Though Lloyd George's tactics are disingenuous, he sees the realities of the situation. "The difficulty of the problem," said the Premier, "was that no proposals which would be acceptable to any party in this country would be accepted by any party in Ireland. If the people of Ireland were asked what plan they would accept, they would say by an emphatic majority 'We want independence and an Irish republic.'" In essence it is a question of what is to be done with the troops. Either they must be withdrawn from the south of Ireland, thus giving the republic an opportunity to establish itself internally, or they are to be kept where they are, to enforce upon an unwilling people a solution devised across the Channel. Any opposition to the Government's Irish policy which does not envisage these alternatives is nothing but a device for vote-catching.

The Premier's statement fairly represents also the attitude of the Labor party. Labor is committed, to be sure, to "self-determination," and the report of its Irish Commission, printed in full on another page, states that "The acceptance of this principle implies the right of the Irish people to determine their own future." This right, however, is not left unqualified. If Ireland were left free to decide, she would, "upon mature consideration," conclude not to sever completely the link between her and the Empire. The Commission would therefore acknowledge the "principle" of self-determination, but "the constitution conferring self-government on Ireland should not be subject to revision by the Irish people until after an agreed number of years, during which under self-government they would



have an opportunity to return to a more normal state of mind, free from prejudices and animosities engendered by the failure of the British Government in the past to satisfy Irish demands." A constitution to be thus "conferred" would grant dominion self-government with provision for the protection of minorities—defense and foreign relations to be left with the Imperial Parliament—or an Irish constituent assembly would be granted the right to draft a similar document for itself.

Under the phraseology of this document it appears that the Labor party Commission also is ready to enforce a solution which Ireland does not now want. Else why hesitate to put the assumptions to the test? Why not leave Ireland free to decide in truth, and put actual trust in her mature consideration? The fact is that British Labor politicians are no more to be trusted on Ireland than Tories or Liberals. Even the dominion government they have in mind would probably carry important reservations as to taxation and customs. The foreign policy of the common man, so far as the British Empire is concerned, is instinctively imperialistic. He, too, accepts expansion of territory almost as a process of nature, as a tribute to what he regards as the Briton's inborn capacity for governing more excitable races. By changing the word empire to the word commonwealth he hopes to avoid the necessity of ever hauling down the British flag where it has once flown. To catch his vote the Labor party, even if it wished to grant independence to Ireland, would probably avoid the issue.

This kind of policy, though dictated by the immediate exigency, may be fatal to the Labor party in the long run. It cannot use the Irish issue merely as a means of attack on the Coalition, for the Coalition is sure to bequeath the Irish problem to its successor. Would a Labor Government withdraw the troops from Ireland without conditions? If Ireland then elected complete freedom rather than a dominion government, would the troops stay out? Such questions might as well be faced now as later. Courageous answers of the right sort must eventually be made, if British labor is to retain not only the solidarity of its own ranks but the respect and assistance of labor in America and the colonies, which it will so sorely require. If the answers were made now, they might postpone success in the elections for a while, but they would render the eventual task easier. The British public needs to be educated to the fact that Ireland has already exercised self-determination, and can be prevented from putting its decision into effect only by an army of occupation.

Of course there is the armed rebellion of the Carsonites to be reckoned with. But that was encountered even in an attempt to install Home Rule, and there is no reason to suppose it would not be invoked against dominion government. The chances are that the opinions and temper of which Carson is representative will be ready to carry on open warfare against the government of Labor in England as well, the moment drastic economic measures are passed. An Ulster minority has a genuine right to consideration, so far as its objections to Irish unity are founded upon anything but the predatory economic régime against which the British Labor party is pledged to struggle throughout the realm. But it has yet to be proved that the legitimate rights of this minority could not be guaranteed without thwarting the will of the majority.

It may be gratuitous to offer suggestions to a foreign party, especially one for which we have in general so much

sympathy and of which we have so much hope. It would certainly be ungenerous not to recognize the immense perplexity of the problem. Yet, just because the success of the British Labor party means so much for the world, and particularly for the masses in the United States, we are constrained to express what we are morally certain will be the judgment of American labor on this issue. There is no question of British policy on which workers on this side of the Atlantic are so well informed and so sensitive; there is none in which lie greater possibilities of a disastrous split between British and American labor. The conservative factions of American labor, those who would tend in any case to minimize the achievements of British workers in politics, are just as sympathetic with the Irish cause as are the radicals. Entirely aside from the issue of international morality, we must hope for our own sakes that the British Labor party will be startled out of its complacency on Ireland soon enough to avoid alienating labor throughout the world by a repetition of the blindness and brutality of its predecessors.

## Raphael 1520-1920

THE sixth of April was the four hundredth anniversary of the death of the world's most loved painter. From his own early youth until today Raphael Sanzio has remained, notwithstanding the occasional vagaries of criticism of the "Pre-Raphaelite school," the favorite artist of the common man. That, in thirty-seven years, he covered so many canvases and walls with designs and colors of imperishable beauty, is a testimony to his industry; that he left the then enormous property of \$140,000 at his death, witnesses the esteem in which he was held. His first biographer, Vasari, can only say of him that Nature outdid herself in producing at once a perfect character and a perfect art. Gentle, sweet, and courteous in his manner, his life was a work of art no less lovely than are his pictures.

It is one of those convenient coincidences that seem almost symbolic, that Raphael and Luther were born in the same year (1483), for they were both products of the same process—the metamorphosis of mediæval religion. Like a tempest the Reformation swept over Europe; Luther was its thunder, Raphael its rainbow. Whether or not they met in Rome, as they might have done, in December, 1510, their life-work was the same, to make religion understood of the people. The whole Bible, which by Luther was translated into the vernacular, was by Raphael translated into the yet clearer language of sense. The great majority of his pictures have religious subjects; he was the supreme illustrator of the Bible. All men now, instinctively, when they picture some New Testament scene, the nativity or the crucifixion or the entombment or the miraculous draught of fishes or the ascension, figure it in their own minds in the terms made familiar by Raphael. Delicacy, pathos, spirituality, idyllic loveliness are spread on all his canvases—everything, in fact, but realism or tragedy. "Beautiful as a Raphael Madonna," says an Italian proverb, and such a beauty, neither too ethereal for love nor too sensuous for adoration! Divine tenderness, motherhood at its holiest, gazes from the face of the Sistine Madonna, "whose eyes are deeper than the depths of waters stilled at even." The simple, unsophisticated man will worship a Raphael where

he will only revel in a Titian. Strangely touched by the magic of this passionate lover of the church and of mortal women, the average man of that day, or of this, has found and will find for his heart glad tidings in the very color of Mary's robe. "Let him who would know how Christ transfigured and made divine should be painted," says Vasari, "look on Raphael's painting."

Next to the Bible Raphael found his great inspiration in the history of the church, so much so that his work has a certain learned stamp, as of one of the typical scholars of the world, like Milton and Virgil. In his *Disputa* (so-called) he made transubstantiation visible; in his great cartoon of Leo I turning back Attila, he figured Leo X warding off a mightier enemy. In his *Parnassus* and *School of Athens*, he made philosophy popular. Indeed it is for the people he painted, and from them that he has reaped his great reward. On all his canvases is written large his noble spirit, as of one saying "I will not offend even one of these little ones." Like them he looked out upon the world at spring-tide, and he found it a rapture. He found life lovely, and he made it lovelier still. He preached the gospel, no less sacred to him than that of the Puritans to them, of the goodness as well as the glory of this world and of the beauty as well as the duty of holiness.

## The Third Party in Industrial Disputes

THE objection of the railway unions to the inclusion of "representatives of the public" in the adjustment board provided for by the Esch-Cummins act has just been given point by the agreement of the representatives of the operators and of the public on the President's Coal Commission, in opposition to Mr. White of the miners. It is easy for anti-labor commentators to interpret this objection, now general among the unions, as evidence of a parochial spirit which cares for nothing but wage advances, no matter what the expense to the consumer. No one is louder in his expression of solicitude for the public in these circumstances than the employer himself, who makes use of the consumer's interest to condemn strikes in general, or, when a wage increase is asked, to announce that it can be granted only at the cost of higher prices. We shall miss an opportunity for valuable analysis of the industrial problem, however, if we accept uncritically the hostile estimates of labor's reasons for fearing the representatives of the public on boards of conciliation and arbitration. In any such board, the representatives of the employer and those of the employee not only stand for certain interests, but they are also responsible to definite groups of people with announced aims. There is nothing hazy about the bases of their action; the representatives come together to negotiate about issues as concrete as are the issues between any seller and any buyer. Since they are likely to disagree, a third party injected into their counsels naturally holds the balance of power. It becomes, therefore, of supreme importance, especially in bargains directly affecting the daily bread of hundreds of thousands of workingmen and the prosperity of many business concerns, who that party is and what leanings he is likely to have.

"We will furnish you with a representative of the public," says the government. "Very well," answers labor, "but

what do you mean by the public? Do you mean the same thing that you meant when you appointed Judge Gary and Mr. Rockefeller as representatives of the public in the Industrial Conference? Are you going to give us another Palmer or Burleson? Where is this public? Is it to be found among the constituency of the *New York Times*? Is it the same privileged group that the newspapers talk about when they say that the public demands that all strikes cease and that strike leaders be thrown into jail? We represent a considerable public ourselves. We know what the working people want, and they make up a large proportion of the population. We prefer to fight the issue out on our own lines, as do buyers and sellers of real estate, or wheat, or anything else of just as much importance to the public as the work of our hands, and of less importance to its proprietor."

Before it can justly be said that the public has an interest entitling it to representation on adjustment boards, one must be a little clearer about what he means by the public, what the public interest is, and how that interest can be so organized that its representative may really be responsible to some visible constituency. Do we want the representative of the third party to express the police powers of the state? Do we expect him to speak for all employers and all employees except those directly concerned? Should he care for the interests of that indeterminate group of persons who are neither employers nor employees? Should he be a representative of agriculture, as opposed to machine industry in general? Or should he see that the peculiar interests of the people as consumers are conserved? These functions differ from each other, and they have different implications.

If, for instance, the decisive factor is to be police power, it is highly undesirable to exercise that power without first determining in some detail its function and limits in industrial relations. If the state is to have a deciding voice in fixing wages and hours, it should use it according to principles framed for the general welfare. Must it not guarantee to the workers certain minima? Must not business be forced to bear the burden of these minima, no matter what readjustments they involve? And if the minimum is not to become a maximum, some standard of return on investment will have to be established in order to show how large an increase labor may justly demand. These and a hundred other questions, of no small complexity, need far more consideration than has yet been given them before the power of the state can wisely be applied in the matter.

It would be extremely difficult to constitute a third party from representatives of general employers' associations and federations of unions, since, except in extreme cases, their interests would diverge as do the interests of the parties immediately concerned. As for the persons who are neither employers nor employees, a glance at the census will show that they are hardly important enough numerically, if we exclude the farmers, to be accorded such an important voice. The farmers, on the other hand, have almost too diffuse an interest to be capable of representation by any single individual or group. Farmers of the Nonpartisan League would apply to industry principles quite different from those advocated by the absentee owners of costly land in Kansas. The tenant farmer of Oklahoma is likely to be a Socialist, while the gentleman farmer of Pennsylvania may be a prominent contributor to the National Security League.

Most of us, when we talk of the public in this connection, are probably thinking of the consumer. Yet here, too, there



is confusion in our thought. We say to the worker that he should not object to representation of the consuming public, since labor itself forms such a large part of that public. Labor replies that since it is, as we say, largely identical with the consuming public, its representatives are the ones we are asking for. The truth is that the consuming interest of the workers and others is, in America, mainly unorganized. When, as in Denmark, we shall have developed inclusive consumers' coöperatives, those coöperatives may, as in Denmark, have representation on adjustment boards. To choose a well-intentioned gentleman more or less at haphazard, and then to call him a representative of the consumer, is not to contribute much to a scientific solution of conflicts over wages, profits, and prices.

This brief consideration of the problem is not intended to prove that it is insoluble, but merely to indicate that we should be wary of accepting improvised mechanisms as final, or of enforcing them with a high moral fervor against labor's will. Americans have nothing more to gain from unqualified devotion to the public as an abstraction than had the Germans from a similar worship of the state.

## Our Naval Policy

**B**EFORE the House Naval Committee Secretary Daniels resurrected again—let us hope for the last time—the assertion that there is no alternative between acceptance of the League of Nations and making the American Navy “incomparably the greatest” on the seas. He not only wished to complete the pre-war building program; he asked for additional cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and battle-ships as a special program in the event of considerable delay in our accepting the League of Nations, and, if we reject it, that we build at once to surpass any other fleet. This meant, as the English imperialists at once answered, a naval race with England—with England determined to keep in the lead. That such a rivalry would inevitably mean a conflict, no reasoning mind can doubt. That it would put both nations well on the road to bankruptcy is perfectly obvious. If anyone doubts, let him turn to the Secretary of the Navy's own reports before the war; he will find it clearly set forth there.

There could be no clearer illustration of the way the shams, the illusions, the self-deceptions, the monstrous stupidities that characterize the military mind, and particularly the civilian mind set to rule over military ones, continue to hold their sway, even after the late failure to safeguard or extend democracy by force of arms, the “war to end war.” Upon the slightest analysis, the absurdity of assuming that there is no other alternative becomes manifest. We have failed to enter the League, so Mr. Daniels, in his privy-chamber, when not reading the extremely damaging daily testimony of his admirals against his conduct of his Department, is doubtless planning to outstrip England. Why? Every naval policy ought to be related to some sound policy of statesmanship. Even naval officers declare that in framing a naval program the first step is to take cognizance of possible enemies, and the second to frame a program according to national aims. England's has been plain and simple: to dominate the seas. She has built, planned, and battled accordingly. We have had heretofore no such policy. What is our policy? Against whom do we arm and for what purpose? If it is to destroy British sea-

power by force, then Mr. Daniel's policy is arguable. The great outstanding naval fact in this aftermath of the war is that there remain but three navies upon the seas—the English, the American, the Japanese—in the order of their strength. England is our Anglo-Saxon ally and is the only possible opponent of our own mettle. Japan's fleet is but half our own. The German, Austrian, and Russian fleets are no more, and could not be revived in half a century if a revival were desired. The French fleet is not effective.

There is, therefore, but one deduction left. If Mr. Wilson and Mr. Daniels demand incomparably the greatest navy, it is to safeguard us against England and Japan, singly or together. If the League is the key to disarmament, it must be because they know that England and Japan will begin to disarm or limit their armaments as soon as the League is under way with our adhesion. The possibility that there might be another way out—simply by inviting Japan and England to agree to stop building—never enters the minds of these two statesmen, nor the mind of Congress. The House Naval Committee has clipped Mr. Daniels's wings, by voting only to complete the 1916 program.

The House Naval Committee does not even protest against that error in peace-time naval policy, by which, violating every teaching of Mahan, our doughty Secretary has halved the value of the battle fleet by dividing it between the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. We have had some interesting revelations from our admirals. What would not be said if they should be asked to testify as to this bit of strategy? And no one in the White House or elsewhere is moving to rebuke Admiral Benson for his swashbuckling instructions to Admiral Sims to keep his eye on the English fleet and not to let England pull the wool over our eyes. Where are our ardent, shrieking patriots of the League of English Speaking Peoples? What clearer proof could there be than Benson's words of our assertion that there will inevitably be war between the United States and Great Britain if the admirals of both sides build and plot against one another? It has now been shamelessly confessed by that great British Sea Lord, Fisher, in his own autobiography, that he urged a peace-time raid upon the German fleet long before war came. How long will it be, if we build to surpass England, before a future Fisher or Benson will urge a similar act against the rival fleet in the dead of night?

That there is another way out, even if it is beyond so prolific a mind as Mr. Daniels's, is shown by the statement we have already quoted from Mr. Long, First Lord of the British Admiralty. He has declared that the United States and Great Britain “should compete only in reducing their ample margins of naval power.” Last week Mr. Long showed in the House of Commons that the American naval budget is £44,000,000 in excess of the British and that while the personnel of the British Navy is being reduced, that of the American is being increased. In view of the fact that England once asked Germany to join her in suspending all naval building for a year, and in view of her present financial stringency—not to say bankruptcy—it is perfectly plain that England would rejoice to meet us half way and disarm. Disarmament is, moreover, one of the surest ways to prevent the further spread of world unrest. France, England, Japan, and America can disarm on the seas by mutual agreement without waiting for the League to act, and the glory of leading the way should belong to the United States. Not until the war fleets disappear will there be freedom of the seas and freedom from war's alarms.

## Our Future Trade With Russia

By ALBERT COYLE

IT is all but incredible that any government, severed from restorative relations with other nations, economically exhausted by nearly four years of world war, and then for two years longer compelled to maintain the longest battle front in human history, should not only have avoided complete dissolution and collapse, but should emerge from such a contest admittedly victorious, actually stronger economically than at the outset, and immediately prepared to conduct commerce with the rest of the world. The two facts which can alone explain Russian endurance are at the same time the best portent of the possibilities of future trade with Russia: first, Russia's tremendous natural wealth in the prime necessities for maintenance of life and production; secondly, rigorous devotion of the nation's entire energies to the military cause. Hence the suppression of all non-essential industries; the direction of all surplus labor power into the army; and the limitation of the transport system to the enormous task of maintaining an army of over two million men on a six thousand mile front, supplying only incidentally the minimum needs of the civil population. The dual effect of this iron regimen has been: (1) the amassing of large stocks of foods and raw materials which could not be transported for consumption or utilized for manufacture; and (2) the creation of the greatest vacuum of consumers' wants that the civilized world has ever known. In this situation reside both Russia's need and America's opportunity.

Unfortunately, American business men have been able to secure very little valid, accurate information about the possibilities of trade with Russia. "What commodities has the Soviet Republic to offer us in exchange for our goods?" "Of what articles does it most stand in need?" and "What are the conditions under which trade with Russia can be conducted?"—here are three extremely pertinent questions, upon the answer to which our future trade relations with Russia will depend. I shall deal with these questions in the light of certain information which I recently secured in Moscow from the reports of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Republic, as qualified by personal observations and the historic facts of Russian trade.

### I.

Any intelligent view of Russian commerce must consider its potential as well as its immediate value. Possessing one-seventh of the land surface of the globe and more than one-sixth of its white population, Russia holds a pre-eminent world position both with respect to the supplying of primary materials and the consumption of finished products. Russia stands first in flax, asbestos, and platinum and manganese ores. Even with crude methods, she formerly led all nations in the growing of wheat and cereals, 35 per cent. of which she exported to feed Europe. The largest coal field in the world is the Kuznetz in Siberia, and the Donetz Basin is not only the most important coal source in Europe, but, according to the estimates of the International Geological Congress, possesses about twice the anthracite reserves of the United States, and over three times those of Great Britain (about 38,000,000,000 tons). Independent of the immense forests of Siberia, two out of every three trees in Europe stand in Russia. Moreover, Russia formerly supplied more than a fifth of the world's cotton, stood second in the production

of oil and beet sugar, and among the chief nations in silk, hemp, hides, furs, gold, silver, copper, asphalt, iron ores, osmium, tantalum, and iridium, besides lesser amounts of base chemicals, leather, hair, bristles, cinnabar, quicksilver, zinc, and lead. Complementary to Russia's natural wealth stand her superb human resources—the world's greatest supply of sturdy white man-power, awaiting only peace, tools, and technical direction to unlock her treasure vaults for the satisfaction of the world's needs.

But what of the immediate present? What materials can the Soviet Government now offer us in exchange for American products? The report of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Republic shows that the Turkestan cotton crop of this year is 5,000,000 poods. (A pood is thirty-six pounds.) Flax increased to 4,000,000 poods, which, including reserves makes a total of 5,500,000 poods, about half of which will be utilized by Russian industry and the balance held for export. Wool production increased to 2,000,000 poods for the first half of 1919. The total needs of all factories for the year will not exceed 3,000,000 poods, the surplus being for export. While sugar statistics had not been recorded when I was in Russia, I was informed by a surveyor for the food administration, who had just returned from an inspection of the beet sugar district of the south, that they had only begun to use the 1917 crop. Our experience in drawing generous sugar rations (one-eighth pound per man per day) wherever we went, both from civilian and military depots, would tend to confirm this statement. The Moscow coal basin last year produced 38,000,000 poods of bituminous coal and 58,000,000 poods of peat, while the discovery of immense schist beds in the Samara and Simbirsk regions has opened up an important supply of fuel and tar products. Moreover, during the first few months of 1919, 4,000,000 poods of anthracite had already been mined from the Donetz Basin, and the subsequent recovery of that entire field from the hands of Denikin will make available a part of the normal 3,500,000,000 pood production. This might prove of some interest to Europe, which during 1919 produced over 200,000,000 tons of coal less than at any previous period of depression.

Contrary to common expectation, the wheat crop has not been ruined by the withdrawal of male labor for the army, for the reason that the Russian peasant women in many sections furnish the main agricultural labor. The most serious diminution is due to lack of agricultural implements, as evidenced from the returns of the large estates. Yet from August, 1918, to August, 1919, the new government secured 108,000,000 poods from eight of the least productive governments alone, which furnished but 60,000,000 poods in pre-war times and yielded only 75,000,000 poods during a year and a half of the war with Germany under pressure of the Czar's official machine. This success in collection of grain is largely due to the coöperative unions, which have been officially amalgamated with the Government food administration. Contrary to report, the Government is not compelled to resort to confiscation for its food supply. Outside of a negligible amount taken from food speculators after due legal process, all grain received during



the past year was paid for in money or in goods, one and a half billion rubles' worth of the latter being distributed through the coöperative organizations to the peasants. Incidentally, the chairman of the coöperatives last year guaranteed a pound of bread per person per day after the 1919 harvest, estimating a total collection of 300,000,000 poods, of which about one-sixth will be available for export. The subsequent defeat of Kolchak has doubtless increased this surplus. Last October from Samara, Ufa, Orenburg, and the country just evacuated by Kolchak, the Government was already moving by water huge quantities of grain and flour, one shipment alone comprising 4,500,000 poods.

In addition to these commodities, Leonid Krassin, Commissar of Foreign Trade, states that there is also now available for the repayment of small foreign orders, linen, wood, light leather, platinum, hair and bristles, hides, furs, hemp, dairy products, small quantities of metals from the Urals, and gold specie; while for orders on a national scale, the Government is prepared to concede the right to work mines and forests. In the words of Chicherin, National Commissar for Foreign Affairs, "We realize that we need the capital and technical skill that foreign interests can provide for the development of our natural resources, and we are ready to give American business men concessions of forest leases to run for forty-nine years, providing that the exploitation is conducted in accordance with the laws of the Soviet Republic." The purpose of this proviso is thus expressed: "While we will permit foreign capital to exploit our mines and forests, we cannot allow it to exploit the Russian workingman."

## II.

Turning now to the export side, what are the chief articles of which Russia stands in most immediate need? The basic problem of Russia today is not food but transportation. Russia before the war possessed excellent railroads, less punctual than German lines, yet better equipped, and operating on broad gauge tracks. Commissar Krassin, in charge of Ways and Communications, was general manager for all Russia of the Siemens-Schuckert interests upon the liquidation of German industries in Russia at the beginning of the war, and it is a genuine tribute to his ability that there is a railway operating in Russia today. Admittedly, at the end of Russia's struggle with Germany, her railroads were in a wretched condition. Yet in addition to running one daily passenger and goods train in each direction on the main lines (which we found to be surprisingly punctual), Krassin has met the transportation needs of a huge army with sufficient success to make possible recent military events. According to Krassin's statement, approximately half the rolling stock and locomotives in use in 1913 are now hopelessly worn out, while half the remainder is in need of fittings and parts. Although a new locomotive factory is now turning out several locomotives a week, yet Russia cannot begin to replace her rolling stock without outside assistance; and her broad-gauge rail standard makes America uniquely the one country that can be of immediate help to her. Moreover, the new Government has formulated a tremendous railroad construction program, which will require great stocks of materials for its realization. It is officially estimated that not less than 70,000 miles of steel rails are necessary to meet these needs.

In the second place, machinery and tools of all kinds, cutlery, electrical equipment, farm implements, wagons and tractors, and dairying appliances are needed in almost staggering quantities. An official of the Supreme Economic

Council asserted last July that Russia could easily import twenty-five billion rubles' worth of this character of products alone. The situation is most acute. Russian factories have largely been converted for production of war materials, and have not the necessary machinery to revert back to production for peace purposes. I cannot discuss here the need for tools and machinery in the various industries, but as normative of the general situation, I will touch on the opportunity for American agricultural implement manufacturers. Prior to the war, in Western Siberia alone, over 100,000 plows a year were purchased. The branch Imperial Colonization Bureau at Omsk, one of three hundred such depots, annually supplied from 35,000 to 40,000 plows, in addition to other farm machinery. Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Government forbade the use of iron and steel in the manufacture of other than war materials. At the same time, the importation of farm implements from America was practically cut off. The ordinary process of deterioration was hastened by the rigorous use of implements, often in unskilled hands, so that over half the agricultural machinery in Russia has worn out since the war began. The new implement factory at Saratov is working to maximum capacity, but cannot begin to meet the demand.

This is not merely a commercial proposition. There is a political factor which we cannot disregard. Either Europe must have food or Europe will have revolution. Before the war Europe imported annually 500,000,000 bushels of grain to make up its deficit. Most of this came from Russia, with small amounts from Argentina and the United States. If we immediately send Russia sufficient farm machinery, we shall not only facilitate the collection of the July harvest in the southern black soil belt, but also enhance the northern yield in September and October, and by the next harvest enable Russia to feed Europe. What this will mean to the world is almost beyond calculation.

The third most immediate need is for clothing of all kinds, boots and shoes, soap, and such foods as milk and canned meats. Cotton clothing is less in demand, for the blockade has compelled Russia to develop this industry. Even before the war her textile mills were among the finest in the world, though exceeded in number of looms and spindles by those of Britain and America. In order to clothe the army these mills have had to be kept in operation, several of the largest still being under the able superintendence of the English spinners who directed them before the revolution. The mills are also manufacturing a light cotton-flax fabric for civilian needs, which is rationed out on the same basis as food. Yet, due to lack of transportation, new garments in the provinces are practically unknown outside of the army.

In passing, one might mention the necessity for chemical, medical, and surgical supplies, the lack of which has been one of the most cruel effects of the blockade. Tanning materials, automobiles, printing appliances, scientific instruments, photographic materials, paints, needles, and rubber goods are also among the primary demands which we can help to meet.

## III.

The American business man has not been blind to the value of Russian commerce. There have been good and sufficient reasons why he has permitted Germany and Britain to corner approximately two-thirds of Russia's import and export trade, while we received less than 1 per cent. of her exports and contributed less than 9 per cent. of her imports. We have not held aloof on account of geographical position,

for the distance from New York to Petrograd is about the same as from New Orleans to Liverpool, and actually shorter than the voyage from New Orleans to Le Havre. There are three substantial reasons why Russian trade has not appealed to Americans in the past: (1) Since the days of Vishnegradsky and De Witte, Russia has relied upon onerous import duties to provide sufficient crown revenues. Due to the great need for agricultural implements, however, these were admitted at a lower tariff than that charged on the raw materials of which they were made; and for this reason our pre-war exports to Russia largely consisted of such implements. Germany enjoyed the advantage of a special economic treaty with Russia, drawn up during the Russo-Japanese War (expiring by limitation in 1915), so that in some cases it was actually cheaper for American merchants to sell their goods to German firms for reshipment into Russia than it was to ship direct. (2) Furthermore, many of the most lucrative Russian markets were cornered by foreign concerns in such a way that the American found himself facing a closed game preserve. Thus, most of the electrical appliance trade was in the hands of German-controlled firms, while 50 per cent. of Russia's copper and 30 per cent. of her gold production was controlled by British corporations, which also dominated the Maikop (Kuban) oil fields and were playing to corner the Baku wells. (3) American firms were also at a great disadvantage because of their inability to secure competent representatives who knew the Russians and their language.

The Revolution has suddenly swept away all these barriers. Foreign trade is now a monopoly of the state; hence tariffs are illogical and unnecessary. And since the state now owns all sources of natural wealth, foreign concerns have lost their corner on certain valuable markets and commodities. Furthermore, since the state is the sole purchaser of foreign goods, there is but one agent with whom to deal—the Government, and an expensive Russian-speaking personnel becomes unnecessary. Incidentally, competitive costs are largely eliminated, and the payment of all sums is guaranteed. As between manufacturers of different nations, the Commissar of Foreign Trade has already declared that purchases will be made after due expert comparison of the products and prices offered, regardless of nationality.

#### IV.

The dearth of raw materials in Europe has paralyzed production and made economic reconstruction almost impossible. In the past Russia has been the chief source of these materials. What if they are not soon forthcoming? Premier Nitti of Italy has declared that a continuance of the blockade against Russia means revolution in Italy, and his logic is inexorable: lack of raw materials means the closing of factories, thus producing unemployment, and unemployment breeds revolutionary discontent. The truth is that the Russian blockade has blockaded Europe even more than it has blockaded Russia.

Perhaps we may wish to disregard the safety of Europe, but from another angle the readjustment of relations with Russia will affect our own selfish interests. The Attorney-General may deliver diatribes and wave injunctions from now until Doomsday, but he will not deflate present prices unless he curtails the consumers' demands or increases the supply of commodities from which those demands must be satisfied. Nor is this a local matter. Destroy the prune crop of Bosnia-Herzegovina and you increase the price of prunes in the Santa Clara Valley, California. Throw a hundred

million poods of Russian wheat into Europe's markets, and the price of bread will be affected from New York to Seattle. Unlock Russia's storehouse of goods and prime materials, and you will reduce price levels throughout the world.

In yet another respect this matter vitally concerns us. During 1919 America set a new record in world history with an export sheet of over seven billion dollars, more than twice the value of our imports during the same period. But what of 1920? We are continuing on the same scale of expanded production, but the countries which would buy from us cannot do so because of the ruinous rates of international exchange. We are piling up a huge surplus of products and credits. Every warehouse in New York is reported filled with goods for export on which the sellers have borrowed heavily from the banks, but which cannot be shipped abroad because, in terms of Europe's money, our prices are prohibitive. The situation is fraught with the peril of a potential crisis. If exporters are suddenly compelled to liquidate, and this surplus is forced on an already overstocked market, the history of 1893 will be repeated. There are only two roads open to us: either we must bolster up Europe's collapsed credit with our own (rather a risky procedure as Europe is at present governed); or else we must recognize that trade is primarily barter, that money is simply a convenient method of measurement, and that when, by persistent borrowing and dilution of her currency, Europe has made her money worthless to us, we cannot go on selling except to a country which has commodities of intrinsic value to export. There is only one country which can immediately exchange with us value for value. And that country is Russia.

There are three suggestions I would offer to American business men who are earnestly concerned about our future trade relations with Russia. In the first place, it is conceivable that, during the first few months, Russian trade will go to the first comers. But as soon as the most urgent demands have been met, the Soviet Republic will doubtless carry out its declared policy of awarding orders only after due examination of competing products and prices. A permanent and complete exhibition of American manufactures at Moscow, right under the eyes of the Supreme Economic Council, would do more to establish the supremacy of American goods in Russia than any other single factor except the quality behind those goods. Great Britain had arranged for an exposition of British manufactures in the Tauride Palace at Petrograd during 1917, but the Revolution intervened. An American exhibition, although relatively inexpensive, would in actual results accomplish more than all the mail order catalogues in Chicago. Secondly, we must not forget that Russia's export commodities are not now in storage at ports of clearance. In many cases their sources are several thousand miles inland, and they could not be immediately transported in large quantities. In order to facilitate exchange, I should recommend the extension of a short-term credit to the Government to enable it to utilize our first shipments of rolling stock for the collection and transportation of the goods it wishes to exchange with us. Under our new export laws, American firms can secure Government support in the granting of such credit. In the third place, we need direct cable connections with the north of Europe. It would be decidedly to our interest to bind ourselves to northern Europe by a direct wire, say, to Bergen, connecting straight through Christiana and Stockholm to Petrograd. It is still true that communication is the life of trade.



## Millerand and the Politicians

By F. D.

ALMOST equal to the surprise of M. Clemenceau's defeat for the French presidency, was that of M. Millerand's elevation to the premiership. M. Millerand had been M. Clemenceau's choice for the presidency of the Council of Ministers. No sooner does M. Clemenceau's adversary become President than he appoints as Premier the very man whom Clemenceau would have appointed. What makes M. Millerand so completely the "man of the hour" that two opposing factions place their trust in him?

The French lobby has a phrase to the effect that when the frogs elect a king they always choose a stick. The moment the French politician found a man who in a career of twenty years had never been opposed to anybody or anything, they burst forth on all sides into a Bre-ke-ke-koax-koax of satisfaction. First of all, M. Millerand was the artisan of the famous *bloc national* of which M. Clemenceau was the architect. He was also the only man in France capable of making a unit, under the fear of Bolshevism, of the Free Masons of M. Puech and the clerical conservatives of M. Barrès. What was the basis of this extraordinary agility? Like many of the perpetual aspirants to the French Ministry, M. Millerand started as a state socialist, gradually losing his socialistic convictions in imperceptible stages, much as a tadpole loses its tail as it grows. Ultimately he arrived at a moderate republicanism, considerate and easy-going, so that when the question of liquidating the Congregation properties arose, the anti-clericals found him just the man to supervise that delicate operation. M. Millerand was so skilful in this work that the famous billion francs, allotted originally to old age pensions for workingmen, passed almost intact into the coffers of the Orders. Democracies, like children, are sometimes forgetful; but the Church never loses sight of a benefaction, especially when it comes from a foe.

That, however, is only the political side of a two-sided situation. Most serious problems of finance and taxation confront the French government. M. Millerand inherited the law business of his teacher, M. Waldeck-Rousseau. As such, he became the high salaried counsel of the transportation, shipping, and insurance companies, not to mention certain retail mercantile concerns. No Millerand Cabinet will ever be cruel toward the "big interests."

While this looks on the surface like a political compromise of the familiar type, the fact is that M. Millerand's Cabinet is, in one of its aspects, something unheard of and almost revolutionary. The formula for Cabinet-making in French politics has been a very simple one. You take the chiefs and first lieutenants of the parliamentary groups which, by combining, have put your predecessor in the minority; and you perform a sum in elementary arithmetic. Dupont, let us say, has two hundred votes; Dubois has a hundred and fifty; Durand has a hundred and twenty; Dupin has sixty. You have at your disposal twelve portfolios and six sub-secretariats. One here and one there, and you soon find your majority, with a change or two at the last moment to meet some unexpected recalcitrance. Finally you draw up two platforms: one for the public, which you have only to write; the other for the financiers, which you have to write and to execute. You publish the first; you keep the sec-

ond secret, for it relates to government contracts, concessions, tariffs, rebates, supplies, and such things. You go on for a certain length of time carrying out this second program. Eventually you make the inevitable slip and it is the turn of somebody else.

If M. Millerand's cabinet is examined, however, no traces of such handiwork are to be found. M. Briand, M. Barthou, and M. de Monzie were the authors of Clemenceau's discomfiture, but neither they nor any of their confederates figure in the Cabinet of M. Millerand. Close inspection reveals, in fact, only three professional politicians. M. Lefèvre gets the portfolio of War for his attacks on M. Klotz. M. Steeg gets the Interior, where no one who was not a politician could possibly be used. M. L'Hopiteau as Minister of Justice is a spare man, useful for the moment in reading the program to the Senate. Beyond these points, the Cabinet ignores parliamentary coteries; its portfolios secure hardly a vote in the Chamber. That was why the Millerand Cabinet looked so fragile at first. The politicians were enraged; M. Millerand was welcomed in Parliament by a denunciation from M. Arago, who spoke in the name of one hundred and eighty-five unsatisfied appetites.

The fact is, however, that M. Millerand, who is no novice in politics, has found a solid basis for his Government than the old political groups; and herein lies his originality. The characteristic feature of French society at the moment is the tendency toward professional, industrial, and financial combination and association. Union for common action among the great financiers of iron working and shipbuilding dates from before the war. Necessities of national defense stimulated such associations of capital, under government auspices, during the conflict. Numerous *consortia* took over the management and distribution of raw materials, metals, coal, food, and contracts. Capitalists, formerly divided into fiercely antagonistic groups, have been compelled to get together; and by bringing these different organizations into conference it has been possible virtually to create a general federation of capitalists. Commerce meanwhile has been undergoing a similar evolution. Regional grouping of merchants has been the natural answer to the incompetence of the bureaucracy to deal with all the problems of national sustenance; and Clemenceau's Minister of Commerce, M. Clementel, was obliged to recognize this movement by creating a regional systematization of the Chambers of Commerce. Agriculturalists organized in June their General Federation of Agricultural Associations, thus substituting orderly national action for the parish rivalries that formerly found expression in the lobby.

The development of new ideas in the labor organizations is perhaps the most significant of all the French trend away from the old parliamentarism. The General Federation of Labor, after its heavy vote last September against Bolshevism and in favor of "productionism," has changed the emphasis of its propaganda from such slogans as immediate revolution by general strike to that of constructive transformation of society to syndicalistic communism by legal methods. No less revolutionary in its ideals than before, French labor has initiated new tactics which have made immediate appeal abroad, especially to the anarchistic syndicalists of Catalonia.

First of all, the technical experts, managers, superintendents, professors, engineers, architects, chemists, electricians, and all the salaried elements which from time immemorial have stood with capital against labor, have organized into

vast federations of technicians and gone over to the General Federation of Labor. This has brought the whole mechanism of production and distribution within reach of conquest by the proletariat, conquest also by imperceptible steps and by peaceful means. The instrument of this new idea is the Economic Council of Labor, a congress which associates managers, engineers, inventors, workingmen, and coöperatives, in the effort to find solutions for all the problems of national economic life; while the mass of labor, by all the means in its control, stands ready to force the adoption of these solutions upon the bureaucracy. Those supporting the Economic Council believe that the present political state will eventually pass into the position of a mere bureau of registration, recording and approving the decrees of the virtual government made up of the active creative forces in the nation. The Economic Council held its first meeting on January 8. Bitterly criticized by the Bolsheviks on the Left and by the organs of capitalistic opinion on the Right, it has been welcomed by the general public with a sigh of relief, as a hope of some ultimate cessation of industrial and economic warfare.

This change is what M. Millerand has recognized. His Minister of Finance is M. Marsal. M. Marsal is not even a deputy; he is a professional financier and has worked through all the grades of that profession. During the war and peace periods he was financial counsellor first to the General Staff, then to M. Clemenceau. No man is better equipped to launch the new loan or to enact the new fiscal legislation, where the problem is to reassure the profiteers and at the same time to placate the workingmen by avoiding direct taxation and recouping by taxes on consumption. M. Marsal is director of the Parisian Union, a great bank interested in the Near East through its control of the Ottoman Bank. He will help settle the Turkish question involving the Saloniki-Constantinople and the Syrian railways, with several lines in Asia Minor. In the Ministry he will be in a strategic position for safeguarding the interests of high finance. And M. Marsal is also in a position to control a greedy and unsatisfied Parliament through his power over publicity, through direct newspaper influence, and through the influence of all the interests he represents. M. Marsal's acts will be automatically approved by the great papers which reach and control six million French votes.

M. Isaac, a newly elected deputy, brings M. Millerand in touch with the Chamber of Commerce. M. Isaac is president of the Lyons Chamber, the center of the most important commercial influences in France, and has in addition great personal authority in all the French Chambers. When he speaks, the deputies will know the voice of the second most powerful association in French industrial life. M. Ricard, in turn, represents the National Federation of Agricultural Associations. Finally, to complete the picture, we have M. Coupin, a former laborer, a former president of the Federation of Railway Engineers, and a man supposed to be on friendly terms with the technical unions, the coöperatives, the federations of public employees, and the other units of the General Federation of Labor now working in the Economic Council.

Looked at in perspective, it might seem that the Millerand Ministry is a compromise with a sort of syndicalistic capitalism on the part of the political state; but that impression vanishes under closer examination. It will be noticed that M. Coupin is subordinated to M. Jourdain, who represents in the Council only the sentimental influence of Alsace-

Lorraine. M. Ricard is supported by an organization still in its infancy, while M. Isaac himself has behind him the Chambers of Commerce which have not yet been entirely consolidated. M. Marsal, on the other hand, rests secure on the foundation of the strongest financial and industrial oligarchy in France, solidly organized, of long-standing influence, and of almost limitless capital. The Minister of Finance is in an overwhelmingly preponderant position.

Thus the animus of the present Government in France becomes apparent. It is a scheme for subjugating to the financial clique, so far as political power can do it, the rising economic federations. More directly even it is a combination to forestall any important or aggressive action from proletarian productionism operative in the Economic Council. M. Millerand is in a position to meet expert with expert. The Millerand Ministry emphasizes the passing of parliamentarism and the rise to power of the economic unit in government. Such a reclassification of political elements will not necessarily diminish the struggle between capital and labor, nor need it lessen friction between groups of interests. But it should make the struggle clearer and more in the open. We are nearing the end of political corruption of the old style, even though we may be at the beginning of a new kind. The old philosopher Proudhon once uttered the apothegm that "the work-shop will kill the government." The professions and trades have not yet seized the Government, but they have driven the entering wedge. That is what makes M. Millerand's Ministry an expression of the trend of the times.

## Improving on the Czar

By FREDERICK R. BARKLEY

*Detroit, March 23*

THREE months after their arrest in mass raids conducted by the Department of Justice, 150 Detroit aliens are still held in an old army fort in this city, with no information available from Immigration Bureau officials, who are in charge of them, concerning when or whether they will be deported or freed.

Four hundred and fifty aliens have been confined in this old fort since they were removed there on January 13 from temporary prisons in which they were herded in such shameful fashion that protests from city officials, judges, and the public, forced the Washington authorities to transfer them. Of these 450, in round numbers—the Immigration Bureau seems to have no exact figures available—66 have been released for lack of evidence, 120 have been ordered deported, and decisions on the rest are still awaited from Washington. Of the 384 whose cases have not yet been passed on or who have been ordered deported, approximately 240 are out on bail. The rest are held at the fort.

Reports in press dispatches that deportations to Russia have been indefinitely suspended make it appear that the men finally marked for deportation face indeterminate imprisonment. Only Liberty Bonds are accepted as bail, which runs from \$1,000 to \$10,000, and those whose friends have been unable to raise bail seem to have little chance.

From the confines of this fort have come stories of deprivation, brutality, and suffering which are impossible of verification in the face of the absolute denials by Immigration Bureau officials and officers in charge of the unpaid



guards. Three weeks ago the 220 men then held sent out an open letter in which they pleaded to be deported immediately with their wives and children. "We stand ready to leave this country where we have met with nothing but terrorism, especially now when we expect to be sent to free Soviet Russia," this letter says, and asserts that one of their number died because of insufficient medical attention, while two others went insane "because they were not strong enough to endure the torture."

"The food we get is foul," this letter continues, "and we are kept in cold cells, almost without light. . . . The prison guards treat us brutally, inhumanely. . . . Our helplessness is being exploited by these guards. We are permitted to be taken under guard to stores to make some purchases in preparation for our deportation, and for these privileges they expect from us bribes." Dr. P. L. Prentis, in charge of the Detroit office of the Immigration Bureau, denied these statements absolutely and offered to permit investigation by committees appointed by the Detroit Federation of Labor and other bodies. The Federation of Labor has not made its final report, but the report of an investigator from the Americanization Bureau of the Board of Commerce, who certainly could not be accused of prejudice in favor, is a damning indictment. This investigator "found no bad conditions, although the length of time these men are being detained works an intolerable injustice."

In the meantime the dependents of many are in a state of apprehension and uncertainty, cared for by a charitable agency which came to their aid only when a committee of prominent Detroit clubwomen had brought their plight to public attention, six weeks after their supporters had been arrested. Incidentally, this was three weeks after Attorney General Palmer had written the letter, subsequently published in *The Nation*, asserting that "friends of Bolshevism" were using public sympathy improperly, inasmuch as "the condition of the family of each and every person arrested has been personally examined into by the agents of this Department, and that wherever there are dependents of these men, they are being individually looked after by the most prominent charitable organizations of their own creed in their locality." These wives and children, according to their own assertions, had no aid from any charitable organizations until after the protest meeting of February 18. Instead, they had sold furniture and partly-paid-for homes for whatever they could get on forced sale, in the expectation and, according to their statements, on the instructions of Dr. Prentis that they were to accompany their breadwinners to Russia. The money received was spent for heavy clothing in preparation for a Russian winter, and before long many were penniless.

Dr. Prentis says that he told the prisoners that orders for their deportation might come at any time and that this statement may have been construed as advice to their families to make preparations. It never occurred to these prisoners that the American Government might refuse to let their families accompany them, since even the Czar permitted families to go with political exiles to Siberia.

Protests of scores of labor bodies, of women's clubs, of social workers, of unorganized citizens, and even of the Americanization Bureau of the Board of Commerce have as yet failed to move this officialdom to any decent action—either the humane deportation of entire families or the release of these men so they can support their suffering dependents.

## Hanc Pontem

By SEXAGENARIUS DE PONTE

IN one of the proudest of American universities, the University of Oralia, stands the only feminine bridge in history. Other institutions of learning display as their especial glory glass flowers, clock towers, memorial museums, historical walking sticks, fallen meteors, open air theatres, and such curios, but only one can boast the happy possession of a female bridge to distract the inquiring visitor's attention from the course of study and intellectual achievement.

The bridge was donated to the university by Ellen Higgins Jones, who helped fill the campus empty spaces with the James Murphy Jones Fountain, the Susan O'Brien Jones Gate, the John Henry Jones Bench, the Mary Elizabeth Jones clock, and the Peter Aloysius Jones Sun-dial. So many and various had been her gifts that the president had the flag hung at half staff from the date of her death to the reading of her disappointing will, in which she generously bequeathed two Polish tapestries to the Oralia Y. W. C. A., remarking that the university itself had received its share of her bounty during her lifetime. And it was generally conceded that she was right. For with the delightful climate enjoyed by this blessed spot, the inauguration of sulphur baths alone could have aided Ellen Jones's generous ambition to make Oralia a perfect health resort.

When the bridge was built Professor Adolph Dickbauch, whose celebrated treatise, "The Use of Temporal Conjunctions in the Third Book of De Rerum Natura," brought him international fame as a Latin scholar, was chosen to compose a fitting inscription. With that simplicity which characterizes the great soul who cares nothing for the trivialities of style, a trait shared, by the way, by his son-in-law, whose sensational dissertation, "Der Gebrauch von Du und Sie in Goethe," threatened to cause a split in the Department of Germanic Languages, Professor Dickbauch produced the following gem of Latinity: "HANC. PONTEM. XXI. DEC. MCMXVI. ANNO. DOMINI. ÆDIFICAVIT. HELENA. HIGGINS. JONES."

This terse sentence was shown to the donor's heir, who remarked that he didn't know what it meant, but that he guessed it was all right. He specified, however, that the Helena be changed to Ellen, saying that his dear mother was a one hundred per cent. American and that a one hundred per cent. American name was good enough for her. With this slight modification, the inscription was approved, and soon the stone workers had chiselled it above the bridge where it could not fail to meet the eye of all who passed beneath it.

But, alas! no sooner had it made its appearance than a band of scoffers arose who dared to criticize the work. They were composed mainly of the younger and insurgent members of the faculty, who had neither maturity of judgment nor life-long service to their credit. They said, rashly, that whereas the great Dickbauch had written "hanc pontem," he should have written "hunc pontem"; that any child who had gone through Collar and Daniell's "First Latin Book" knew that *pons*, *pontis*, was masculine, and that hence Dickbauch was a knave and an ignoramus.

"The university is disgraced," cried Professor Lyons. "How can we look the world in the eye when we walk upon

a feminine bridge? We shall seem like idiots to visiting scholars."

"The whole thing," said Léonid Adler, a prominent Polish patriot who was furthering his country's cause in Oralia's Department of Political Science, "the whole thing is a piece of German propaganda to make us ridiculous. I remember that the same thing happened in Lemb—that is, in Lvov." And he recounted a hair-raising story of how a certain Professor Kartoffelnase of Berlin insisted on forcing the young students at the University of Lvov to read Homer with a German accent.

In the lavatory of the Oralia Faculty Club, where the university's most brilliant minds met in daily converse over the washbowl, comment was no less gloomy. Almost everyone present agreed that the university was befouled by that dreadful *hanc*. Finally above the groaning and sighing, and the gurgling of drains, was heard the treble voice of Allan MacPherson, Instructor in Rhetoric, saying that the great Dickbauch could not have been mistaken.

"If we have been taught," he piped, throwing his yellow hair backward out of his eyes, "that *pons* is masculine, we may have been incorrectly taught. Has it not occurred to you, gentlemen, that the dictionaries may be wrong, and that Professor Dickbauch, one of Oralia's most famous savants, may alone be right?"

It had not. Hence a sigh of relief arose from the gathering when it realized that the blot on the scutcheon might be erased, that the bar sinister might be rectified.

This feeling, that there was at least room for doubt, intensified as the days went on. Men no longer moved with a melancholy tread as they passed over the Jones Bridge. They understood for the first time that what they had originally mistaken for a blemish might turn out to be a beauty spot. And it was no great while before the lavatory heard lively debate on the subject of pontile gender, and the whole university was divided between the Hanc-ists and the Hunc-ists.

The great Dickbauch himself kept silent. In the early days of the dispute an attempt was made to interview him, but the caller, after putting his initial and leading question, received a reply in the professor's native tongue in which could be distinguished such words as "verdammt . . . Halunke . . . Schweinhund . . . Esel . . . Dummkopf . . . Drecksele . . . Schmutzfink . . .," all delivered with heat and passion.

The interviewer left.

Accordingly, one was never quite sure what the author of the interesting line thought about it. There was no doubt, however, how other opinion turned. The issue was as clear as that of the World War. You were either pro-hanc or pro-hunc; there was no middle or neutral ground.

Things reached such a crisis that the president was appealed to, and he straightway appointed a Committee on Intellectual Welfare and Architectural Deficiencies to consider whether the bridge was female or male, and, if the latter, to make suitable recommendations for future action. The committee had as its chairman the Professor of Logic, a man too little known beyond the confines of Oralia, whose work, "The Formal Implications for Inductive Logic of the Imperfect Figures of the Syllogism," alone would suffice to place him in the front rank of America's intellectuals. He was a tall, spare man, with a mottled face, whose long red nose shone forth like a danger beacon. It thus belied his true character, for the Professor of Logic was at heart

one of the gentlest and mildest of men, so gentle and so mild that he could not bear the thought of change with its attendant worries. A believer in a static and complete universe, his soul shrunk from contact with the damp stream of current events. His colleagues on the committee were the head of the Department of Agronomy, who had done more for the future of the sugar beet than any other single man in the world, who slightly resembled his vegetable protégé in complexion and form; the Dean of the Faculty of Science, a positivist of the firmest type, with a range of information including all human activities except the arts, and philosophy; the Higginbotham Professor of Humane Letters and Arts, who had a tremendous reputation as a scholar and had once compiled a bibliography on Crabbe, which put the resources of Oralia's library to shame; and the University Surgeon. All in all, they were not the type of man who would ever require the protection of the American Association of University Professors.

The chairman convened his committee and asked the Dean of the Faculty of Science to open the discussion. "A bridge," began the Dean, "when properly considered, offers no great room for experimentation. Were we to determine its weight, its strength, its vibration period, its sensitivity to heat and cold, we could, I believe, produce good inductive reasons for thinking that experimental evidence might be found to show that *ceteris paribus* its gender was either masculine or feminine, and *mutatis mutandis* its sex either male or female. I propose, then, that a sub-committee be appointed to formulate a set of experiments to determine the gender of the bridge. In the meantime and until we know otherwise, I believe we should suspend judgment."

But the Higginbotham Professor of Humane Letters and Arts, impatient at this careful assay of the situation, interrupted. He declared with all the majesty of his scholarly title that masculine though the bridge might be by the rules of grammar, it was undeniably feminine by the rules of the spirit. He quoted from Shakespeare to prove that masculine character was essentially deceitful and pointed out that a bridge was the antithesis of those creatures whose feet were one on sea and the other on shore. He showed by citations from Gibbon that the Church took bridges under her patronage, which proved their trustworthiness. He reminded his hearers of the Fratres Pontifices, founded by St. Benezet in 1189 for the sole purpose of bridge-building. And though the Dean of the Faculty of Science tried to refute him by a weighty reference to the *wo-bashira* of the Japanese, which is undoubtedly male, he went on from citation to citation, ending with the parallelism between bridges which link shore and shore, and angels which link heaven and earth; and, deriving "angel" from *aggelos*, a messenger, he proved triumphantly that the messenger of the gods was Iris, "a bridge and a woman."

The University Surgeon spoke for the first time. "This is all nonsense, gentlemen," he said. "A bridge, in my opinion, is neither masculine nor feminine. It is neuter. I propose that we have the inscription changed to *hoc pontem*." A shudder passed over the committee, and every member of it knew that, good surgeon as he might be, he was in no sense of the word a scholar.

The chairman drew a deep breath, his nose became a glowing red, and, tapping his pencil against the edge of the table, he said: "Gentlemen, we are all talking at cross purposes. The matter is by no means complicated. We are



sure of three fundamental principles: first, whatever is, is right; second, whatever is, is; third, all S is P. From this we can make the immediate inference that some P's are S's, and no S's are non-P's. We can even go further and infer immediately that since no S's are non-P's, some non-P's are non-S's. Applying this to our original case, we learn that since whatever is, is right, some things that are right, are—an ample refutation of pessimism, gentlemen. But we can also infer that if a thing is, it is right. Hence, if the bridge is, it is right. And since whatever can be asserted of the whole can be asserted of the part, the inscription is right if the bridge is right. The only question left, then, is whether the bridge is or is not. In other words, the being of the bridge is in question. To simplify the matter, let us say that the quality of bridge-hood either implies or does not imply the quality of existence, as the case may be. Or, if you prefer, does the quiddity of the bridge imply its haecceity? Does its what imply its that? If so, obviously the bridge exists, and is right; if not, it does not exist, and is unfortunately wrong, or non-right, as you choose."

He then developed this point into the Anselmic-Cartesian argument for the existence of God, applying it to a perfect bridge, and easily showed that the bridge in question existed, and hence was right. His report was a masterpiece of irrelevant and persuasive argument.

He applied his triumphant principle to all issues of the day and was made Dean of the Faculties by a grateful president.

No minority report was ever submitted.

## Paying the Professor

By CARL HOLLIDAY

CAN the college professor survive? This question is asked in all seriousness. The recent application of a large group of professors at the University of Illinois for entrance into the American Federation of Labor, the formation of a union among a considerable number of the faculty of Harvard, like action on the part of teachers at Howard University, show how serious the matter of obtaining a livelihood is becoming to the university instructor. Within a short time the Government Bureau for the Re-Employment of Soldiers in New York city received in the same mail a request for a mechanic at \$36 per week and an urgent demand for a college professor at \$19.23 per week. A metropolitan paper sarcastically headed the news item: "Why Go to College?"

There has recently been much general and indefinite discussion about this subject of professional income; but, frankly, what are the exact facts? After a prolonged struggle with lengthy columns of figures representing the salaries of all ranks of teachers in the American universities and colleges of any merit at all, I am able to present some statistics that may surprise even street-cleaners and rag-pickers, not to mention the professors themselves. In recent years the Bureau of Education has issued pamphlets giving the salaries of "full" professors (if there are such beings in these days), associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors in all the higher institutions of real worth in the United States; but, so far as I am aware, no analysis, averages, or summaries of these lists have ever been published by the Bureau.

If the Bureau's lists are correct—and they are furnished by college officials themselves—the average salary of the American college teacher is \$1,549.29, or \$29.79 per week. Such income reaches this exorbitant figure, however, only because the State-supported universities and colleges lift the average far above what it would otherwise be. It is no marvel that outside of New England these State institutions are becoming a longed-for land of promise for every famishing pedagogue. For consider the salaries in such schools! The average salary for a male full professor in State universities and colleges is \$2,476.25; for a woman full professor \$2,318.35; for an associate professor of the man variety \$1,898.96; for a woman of this rank \$1,973.75; for a male assistant professor \$1,830.53; for a woman in the same position \$1,473.65; for a man instructor \$1,135.50; and for a woman instructor \$1,203. There is one faint ray of hope—for women—in all this. It will be noted that according to deductions from government figures associate professors and instructors of the feminine gender are receiving more pay than "mere men" of the same rank. But how any married and "fatherly" college instructor can maintain a family on \$1,135.50, or \$21.84 per week, is one of those problems solved by college presidents only.

But the non-State institutions—that is, mainly those maintained by endowments or church support—are even less merciful toward the college professor who thinks he is entitled to food and shelter. It is only fair to say that in the following statistics the salaries at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, and the University of Chicago are omitted, for the reason that they are out of all proportion to those paid by the average educational institution of America. But the remainder of the American universities and colleges of the non-State type offer, in the liberality of their heart, a man full professor (not a full man professor) an average salary of \$1,632.71, and a woman \$1,209.37; a man associate professor \$1,583.78, and a woman \$1,300; a man assistant professor \$1,367.85, and a woman \$1,176.47; and an instructor of either sex \$898.75. Again there is the glimmer of hopeful light—for the women. It seems that the woman associate professor is receiving a slightly higher salary than the woman full professor, which means that the younger teachers, better educated and better trained for the teaching profession, are receiving some recognition of their ability, while many of the older woman full professors are holding their positions mainly because they were on the campus first.

This figure of \$898.75 for an instructor is in reality not a true index of the financial condition of workers in the strictly endowed or church colleges; for this average is lifted not a little by the comparatively high salaries paid in the municipally supported institutions, such as the College of the City of New York, Hunter College, the University of Toledo, and the University of Cincinnati. The average payment for all ranks of teachers in State-supported institutions is assuredly low enough—\$1,788.74; but the average in these church and independent schools is but \$1,166. The churches have long taught that man should not live by bread alone; but in their colleges apparently this is about all he can afford.

The municipally supported colleges have been mentioned above; their rapid rise is one of the most significant movements in modern education. It is rather surprising to find that they surpass in average salary all other institutions of learning—even the State institutions. While, as noted

above, the average State university salary for a full professor (man) is \$2,476.25, the average for a man of the same rank in the municipal college is \$3,043. A woman full professor in such a city institution averages \$2,783.33; a man associate professor \$2,467.60, and a woman even more, \$2,550; a man assistant professor \$2,001.33, and a woman \$1,811.80; a man instructor \$1,450.20, and a woman \$1,409.50. In other words, a mere instructor in a municipal college is receiving, on an average, within \$182 of what the average full professor in the independent and church colleges obtains. Moreover, the average for all teachers in the municipal university is \$2,190.09, which is over \$400 more than the average in the State schools and approximately \$1,000 more than in church and independent colleges.

Only the comparatively wealthy endowed colleges of the Atlantic Coast prevent a far greater contrast between professorial incomes in independent schools on the one hand, and city and State schools on the other. For a careful calculation based on government statistics shows that the average salary for a man holding a full professorship in an independent endowed college is but \$1,926.55, and for a woman only \$1,468.70. A man associate professor receives \$1,686.50, and a woman \$1,303.60; a male assistant professor \$1,451.50, and a woman \$1,300.10; while men and women who are instructors average respectively \$989.62 and \$888.50.

Pitiful as these incomes are, those obtained in colleges entirely under church control are much lower: full professor (man) \$1,471.15, (woman) \$1,033.27; associate professor (man) \$1,389.33, (woman) \$1,075; assistant professor (man) \$1,232, (woman) \$1,079.50; instructor (man) \$864.29, (woman) \$649.16. It is hardly possible to conceive of a woman maintaining on \$649.16 the social standards expected of a college teacher, and it is even less possible to imagine a male instructor maintaining a wife and children on \$864.29, or \$16.62 per week. Surely, an application of religious or plain ethical principles is needed in the attitude of the church institution toward its employees. Perhaps the American churches do not know that the general average of their college salaries barely reaches \$1,099.

Some one may raise the ancient cry that the "poor" colleges of the South are the cause of such a deplorably low average of American professorial income. But the cry is in these days a false one. The full professor in the South in all types of institutions receives, it is true, an average salary of only \$1,660; but his fellow-sufferer in the North is given but \$1,823.20. The Southern woman teacher of the same rank obtains \$1,132.50; but her Northern sister—who must buy far more fuel and fur—is paid only \$1,478.30. The Southern associate professor of masculine gender receives an average of \$1,555.50, and the Southern woman of equal rank \$1,377.75; while their brother and sister of the North average respectively \$1,780.50 and \$1,430. A male assistant professor in Dixie obtains \$1,300; a lady, as the Southerner invariably says, receives \$1,120; while in the North the respective average salaries are \$1,412 and \$1,292.70. As a noted university executive once said to me: "The instructor doesn't count"; for down South he gets but \$881.25 and she but \$800; while in the North the respective incomes are only \$1,021.50 and \$879. It is apparent, therefore, that it is as easy to starve as a college professor in the North as in the South—and far easier to freeze to death.

If this state of affairs continues, what will the outcome be? To any college executive the results are already clear.

It is even now a difficult task to procure an efficient professor of sociology or political science. State and national positions at three and four times the college salary call such experts away from the educational field. Banks, insurance companies, and great corporations are steadily drawing professors of economics from the classroom. Professors of English who have gained notice as writers of magazine articles or books on modern subjects may easily find positions at far higher salaries in publishing and propaganda activities. University presidents keep wary eyes on the professor of chemistry, lest some opulent manufacturer tempt him away with a salary that would bankrupt the average college. Professors of engineering are the despair of all university circles; they simply will not "stay put" at four or five thousand when twenty thousand-dollar salaries outside are dangled before their eyes.

Seriously, the question strikes at the very heart of American civilization. If the present starvation salaries continue, only men of mediocre intellect will consider college chairs, and if the teachers of the future teachers in our system of public education are second-rate, what standard of public education shall we have? Just as important, perhaps, if the man who trains the future leaders in industry, commerce, statesmanship, public movements in general, is of the thousand-dollar type, what can be expected but a general decline in the intellect and vision of such leadership? For, in spite of the sneers of some so-called practical business men, the beneficial influence of the American college in our national life has been so vast as to be almost beyond comprehension. But whether such training is worth while in this day under a \$29.79 per week "educator" is indeed problematic.

## Contributors to This Issue

ALBERT COYLE was one of two prisoners taken by the Soviet army last summer from the American forces on the Archangel front. He was free on parole most of the time, and his knowledge of the Russian language opened many interesting doors.

F. D. is a French journalist.

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"X. Y. Z." is an officer of the United States Army.

WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON is president of Smith College.

PRESERVED SMITH is a lecturer and writer on historical topics.

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HOMER E. WOODBRIDGE is professor of English in Indiana University.

HARTLEY BURR ALEXANDER is professor of philosophy in the University of Nebraska.



## The Hills

By MAHLON LEONARD FISHER

HOW well they stand the centuries, how well  
They weather death and the dim shapes of it:  
No evil hath befall'n them where they sit,  
Forever in the sun, amid the smell  
And splendor of the seasons. Where they dwell,  
They, dreaming, see, like bees, the brown clouds swarm  
The lightning's hive around, and the swart storm  
Cut sudden sculptures, under Frenzy's spell,  
And carve new lines of character for them,  
With winds for chisel, chastening, aging, till  
One sees what it must mean to be a hill  
And have no heart to clutch at the Rain's hem  
When that she wearies and would haste away,  
With rustling of much silk of changeless gray.

## In the Driftway

THE Drifter was more than ever convinced that there is nothing new in the world when he picked up his copy of the *London Intelligencer*, "Published for Satisfaction and Information of the PEOPLE (with Privilege)" for Monday, May 16, 1664. It is the oldest paper which the Drifter has ever possessed, and in it he finds the following dispatch from Hamburg: "The Affairs of Poland are doubtful. Some conceive hopes of a Peace with the Muscovite; others rather look for a Conjunction with the Suede; an *Envoyé* from that Crown, being daily expected by the King of Poland, with Propositions tending to that Purpose." This certainly is timely enough when the Muscovite and the Pole are again at each other's throats. But the leading announcement in this issue of the *Intelligencer* is equally so. It reads as follows: "Edinburgh, May 2. Here are issued out of Late, Two Proclamations of the 19. of the Laft, which do very much Import his Majestyes Service, and the Publique Peace in this Kingdom. The One, is for the calling in, and suppressing of an old Seditious Pamphlet, Entitled, De Jure Regni apud Scotos; whereof Mr. George Buchanan was the Author; which was condemned by Act of Parliament, Anno. 1584. written in Latine and is now translated into English, on purpose to corrupt the Affections of his Majestyes Subjects, and to dispose them to new Troubles." Which is respectfully referred to our Luskens for their information and encouragement—since Scotland still survives.

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THE see-me-do-it type of teaching is not new, and may be called in question by those sedate educators whose activities are hampered by a trail of academic degrees. But no teacher of the Drifter's boyhood ever kindled such burning determination to master a subject as did Hermann the conjuror, with his inspiring, though baffling: "Watch me carefully. Now you do the trick." The Drifter had another spur to learning in old Scott Skinner, irreverently known as Skittles, a celebrated Highland dancer who many a year at the Braemar gatherings had footed it brawly to the enjoyment of the Good Old Queen. His method of teaching was to tuck his fiddle under his chin and, droning on the G string in imitation of a bagpipe, his nimble fingers kept tune and time for his twinkling feet as they flashed

through some thirty complicated steps over crossed blades in the sword dance. As he mopped his brow at the close, Skittles would say to the entranced novice: "Do that." And where was the lively lad who would give over till he could at least compel his sprawling feet to tell the rhythm on the space covered by a Highland bonnet?

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THE universities, still hopeful that they may blunder on some method of making the American student take notice, seem to have hit on the see-me-do-it plan. One thrifty college borrows the French chef of a metropolitan hotel, who arrives at the domestic science hall with his corps of practical assistants and a vanload of meats that would bankrupt a university but can be gracefully loaned for demonstration by a prosperous hotel. This seems a fair exchange. M. le chef needs no pecuniary recompense (in addition to his neat twenty thousand or so from the hotel), but enjoys being honorary lecturer; the college, instead of hiring a mediocre instructor at a minimum wage, gets the "pinnacle of his profession" for nothing at all; the hotel gets the goodwill of both, and the approval of the public; and incidentally the student, who after all should have some consideration, gets contact with a man who has achieved mastery, hears his simple rules for greatness, and is stirred by this personality to go and do likewise.

\* \* \* \* \*

AND now Harvard, in the race for specialization and distinction (not having an ex-President on its faculty), has taken a far leap forward in securing Mr. Vanderlip to lecture on business economics. The Harvard boys are lucky; they have not only had opportunity to see-him-do-it in the world of affairs, but closer contact will warm their respect to admiration. Mayhap a new type of student will evolve. One can even picture a youth determined to find out for himself how to do things, with an impulse toward achievement, and the possibility of becoming a real person. And out of the tail of his eye, the Drifter can see economizing trustees smugly rubbing their hands.

THE DRIFTER

## Correspondence

### Neither Ox Nor Ass

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Perhaps those of us who belong to the teaching profession should feel grateful to any sincere advocate of higher remuneration for our services, but there is one argument, sometimes put forth ostensibly in our behalf, which invariably rouses my wrath: that teachers who are well paid are less likely to believe in radical doctrines.

It does not bother me to be treated with patronizing condescension by the wealthy, but I froth at the mouth when they intimate that, like the lowly ox and ass, we can be kept in tractable mood by good feeding and humane treatment. Since my own field lies in physical science, I am diffident about expressing my opinions on matters of politics, economics, and the like, though I can truly say I am no Bolshevik. But I should hate to think that those of my colleagues who are learned in such matters would be so affected by adequate salaries that, feeling their own prosperity bound up with the existing order, they would fail to see and point out defects which did not directly concern them. I would rather see all teachers reduced to rags and poverty, and their children obliged to wait at tables or tend furnaces to earn their education.

Columbia, Missouri, March 27

H. M. REESE

## A Welsh Artist in Gyraton

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

"Pray, own me still a follower, my liege,  
Our folk are born too westerly in Wales,  
And backward from the fashion, for this mode  
Of worshipping the rising sun to please us,  
I never was an artist in gyraton,  
But will accompany your Majesty."

Many years ago an orphan boy was left to the tender cares of his mother's brother—a cobbler by trade. The cobbler pinched himself in order to give his ward a good education and endeavored with all the powers of his honest soul to make his young nephew worthy of the Land of the White Gloves whose motto is *Yn Gwir yn erbyn y byd* (the Truth against the world). The boy grew up to be a lawyer and soon had occasion to prove his skill and his regard for the rights of humanity. An old widower died in the neighborhood, expressing a desire to be buried beside his wife in the cemetery. But when the funeral procession reached the gate of the cemetery, they were met by the irate vicar who refused them permission to bury an ardent nonconformist's body in the consecrated ground. In their sorry plight, the relatives of the defunct applied for advice to the young lawyer. *Torwch clo y gât* (break the lock of the gate) was the laconic reply. His advice was carried out and when the matter was brought before the court, the young lawyer won the case on the ground that human rights come before property rights.

Many years have passed since this occurrence, and what is the unflinching champion of human rights doing now? Recent reports say that instead of breaking down gates he is busily engaged in acrobatic feats in his attempts to preserve an ignoble equilibrium on the opportunist's fence.

Worcester, March 21

JOSEPH DE PEROTT

## Art

### The Society of Independent Artists

A LAUGHING visitor at the Independent show was heard to make the remark that if the Society of Independent Artists instead of closing the exhibition on April 1 were to open and close it on that day each year, the public would judge the show to be an eminently fitting celebration of All Fools' Day. Certainly it is in the carnival spirit of foolery that the public passes upon this exhibition from year to year. Journalists in search of the sensational and of merely freak pictures trail about the galleries to reflect in their reviews a patronizing tired-businessman's attitude toward any theory of art which fails to train a camera on objective reality, or neglects to present a story which can be immediately understood. This attitude settles itself ponderously on heavy common-sense heels and barks out with invincible assurance its belief (more guardedly expressed at the National Academy) that all artists are weak in the head. If the academicians are feeble-minded, it seems to ruminate, the radicals are more so.

The Independents should make a more serious effort to resolve the mystification of the public and to check the boisterousness of its indiscriminate hilarity. The public's misunderstanding is natural enough. It enters the exhibition rooms without the slightest inkling of the fact that a picture may not be illegitimate because it frankly makes no attempt to serve a purely representative function. To thousands of people, the Impressionists still speak a foreign language. A blue cow to the many is even yet an artistic impertinence. How, then, can they be expected to look for any serious aim in the attempts of the Post-Impressionists to widen the æsthetic range of painting? Wal-

ter Pach made a casual remark that suggests a point of departure which might be utilized by the Independents to their own advantage and the public's. He said in substance that the show was rather an atelier than an exhibition—a workshop where the experimentalists might fearlessly assemble their new inventions. This is just what the public does not understand. Why not issue with the catalogue a brochure, skimmed of all æsthetic verbiage, which shall attempt in the simplest possible form to explain what the radicals are trying to do? If the Independent show is an atelier, it is a place where exposition on the part of the Society and study on the part of the public would not be malapropos. The same man who would not dare to judge a work of literature without deliberate intensive study, comes to the Independent show, clicks his heels together, and blows off his steam upon the pictures with the assurance of a Congressman. Show him the difference in intention between Bouguereau and Cezanne, and the chances are that if he has any intelligence he will proceed on his way through the exhibition with a little more caution. Lectures upon art, too, at stated times with frequent gallery tours would attract and enlighten hundreds whose sympathy and understanding could be easily won through critical guidance. Such a program might well begin with Clive Bell's remark: "Tradition ordered the painter to be a photographer, acrobat, archæologist, and litterateur: Post-Impressionism invites him to become an artist." In the end the spectator might not accept, but surely he would not be mystified and affronted by all the canvases which seek to escape the tyranny of visual fact.

In this year's exhibition at the Waldorf-Astoria, although it has the customary offerings of uninspired mediocrity in drab and tedious array, there is more genuine talent in evidence than at any previous show of the Society. Of course one cannot excuse the dull atrocities of people who have nothing to say whether they try feebly to do a Hudson River School landscape or to lip in the accents of the great Post-Impressionists; but one finds no larger percentage of slavish imitators than at any big exhibition, and the dearth of interesting and worth-while pictures is grossly exaggerated by most critics. Without attempting to do more than scratch the surface of the exhibition, the reviewer in the presence of acres of clamoring canvas may mention only a few of the pictures which particularly attract comment. Gardner Hale's fresco panels are done with refreshing simplicity. The Leda, especially, is a decorative gem; it is a fine composition without the mechanical manipulation of the "sure-fire" decoration. C. Bertram Hartman's canvases also show exceptional decorative talent. His Eagle Light is one of the best he has shown—its fantasy remains emotional, escaping the cold ingeniousness to which fantasy is so often subject. Childe Hassam's nudes are the best he has exhibited for a long while. They are a welcome relief to the flag studies which have obsessed him of late. The New Model, while perhaps not more beautiful than Midsummer, is more interesting as a departure from his familiar manner. John R. Koopman's skies are well painted in the two landscapes exhibited by him. The Cuban street scenes by Glenn Coleman have unique charm. There is a somber impressiveness in Emil Holzhauer's A Tragedy. Louis Kromberg's Dancer shows an arresting, exotic type of woman with rich decorative notes in fan and shawl. An uncatalogued snow picture of A. C. Goodman's is fine in suggestive value, without the realism of the academic "cross-section of life." Isadore Feitelson's gigantic canvas The Amazons cannot be dismissed with a word. Its interest lies in the ingenuity with which the figures are distorted to serve the rhythmic pattern. The forms are painted simply and with astonishing solidity. Of the more abstract pictures, Matisse probably attracts most attention. C. Lewis Hind once said that "Matisse flashes upon canvas the unexplored three-fourths of life." If this statement is true of the Spanish girl in this exhibit, Matisse has passed through the explored one-fourth of life without leaving a trace behind. T. K. Gaddo has two ingenious arabesques. Elizabeth Taylor's Fall



Color Orchestration orchestrates beautifully at the proper distance. William E. Schumacher's *The Settlement Worker* registers an eerie quality in its color. There are some excellent etchings in the Independent Show. The fluttering fragile grace of Senor Ismael Smith's Spanish Scenes impressed discriminating visitors. Peggy Bacon's caricatures are exceedingly clever. Very amusing, too, are the diminutive wood sculptures by H. M. Linding. To conclude with the more serious sculpture, the serene, portly figures of Gaston Lachaise have a certain ponderous way of forcing themselves upon the notice if not the affection of the spectator. They are as ineluctable as respectability.

GLEN MULLIN

## Drama Conversation

THE dark and distinguished playwright on the sofa was deliberately drifting into confidences. But the art by which he gained his effects had just a touch of crudity. He forced the note too briskly and took for granted the mood he should have striven to create. The critic, watching him from a deep chair, was not surprised. The playwright was good-looking and firmly intelligent. But all his surfaces, from his boots to his cheeks, were too unfurrowed. He had obviously been born in his particular Zion and all his efforts to prove that he was not at ease in it seemed rather pointless. Nor had anyone asked him so suddenly to justify his soul. The room was a trifle chill, the afternoon light far from mellow, the beverage only tea. Other matters, too, on which the men agreed admirably were not lacking. But the playwright had, as the critic observed with a faint twinge of vicarious shame, set himself a definite task. He crossed his legs and leaned back with elaborate casualness:

"What is one to do? You must either remain unperformed or adopt the public's point of view about life."

"Or what it thinks its point of view," the critic said. But he saw at once that his mildness had prevented the words from reaching his friend's mind. The latter went on: "And it must be done thoroughly. Half-way measures are useless. Unless your manager owns his house he can't keep a play on that plays to less than eight thousand a week. The rentals are getting prohibitive. Cheaper and noisier things are clamoring to go on. To get even that chance you must cultivate people of all sorts, attend to the publicity work—others always bungle it—and spend the greater part of your time on anything but your job."

The critic, afraid now that he was being cultivated, stirred his tea. He felt rather dreary. He wanted to say: "If it's so repulsive, why stick to it? You could do a dozen other things. One doesn't have to write plays." But before his small courage to inflict a probably futile sting rose to the point of speech, the other, now with a pseudo-lyrical intonation, cried: "O for a hermitage! Of course I do my own, my real work at intervals. There are my unplayed plays. I'll send you the new volume that is about to appear."

The cat—a well-bred and not too obtrusive animal—was out of the bag. But a little flame leaped up, as it will now and then, in the critic's brain. "I'm sorry," he said, "but I can't admit your clearly implicit plea. I want to believe in what you call your real work, but I mustn't let you think it possible. You've written 'The Adventure of Flip' and 'Jack and Jill.' You not only built the false and therefore immoral fables, but achieved the rancid emotionalism of the dialogue. I don't blame you for trying. Money tempts the best of us. It buys freedom. I blame you for succeeding. Your ability to succeed proves that you are not a native of the regions from which, as you think, the condition of the theater exiles you. You are at

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home here—a skilful playwright and, privately, a cultivated gentleman. But you'll never find your hermitage. Since it was not in your mind from the beginning, it exists on neither sea nor land."

With fantastic suddenness the conversation became general and amid the hubbub and tinkle the blond and energetic playwright came in. His voice was resonant but monotonous. It had a little edge that kept rasping some nerve. "Ah, Charlie's play! Have you seen it? Charming. Oh, charming. But there were mistakes in it at first. He sent for me during the rehearsals. 'Frank,' he said, 'what's wrong with it?' I saw at once. The girl came on too soon: no preparation. In the second place, the jokes would never reach the stalls. They weren't led up to nor repeated." With a kindly and instructive gesture he turned to the critic: "The way it's done in vaudeville, you know. Now everything is right and it's playing to nine thousand a week."

The dark playwright leaned forward. "That's bully! Of course it's a smaller house. 'Jack and Jill' did nearly fourteen thousand dollars worth of business last week." He got up and strolled toward a window while the blond playwright turned to the critic, who felt the bleakness in his bones that he always does when he hears brokers talk. He wanted to go home. But those glossy eyes held him. "Haven't seen you since the first night of 'Millions Don't Make the Man.' That didn't do so well. I've got a new thing going on that might interest you. But my real work's more in your line. Highly imaginative. Like Barrie. We're through with the ugly. I'll send you the volume in advance of publication."

The critic sank deeper into his chair. The blond playwright was so sure of himself. But just then he seemed to withdraw to an inner contemplation of his own assurance, and from farther down the room came the Voice which the critic specially dreaded. It was not rivalry or envy, Heaven knows, that made him dread the other critic. It was the icy moment of terror that he always feels when unbridable chasms open be-

tween his mind and another's. But the Voice arose: "I admit the merits of 'The Brothers.' But its success or failure will not affect the development of a native school of drama. Tragedy is foreign to us."

The critic jumped from his chair. A lady regarded his rude suddenness deprecatingly. But he was beyond the reach of her rebuke. "Then we are less than human," he cried, "or more. The tragic is in art because it is in life! Why is nine-tenths of all great literature shot through and through with tragedy? Because human life is. The very Fool in Shakespeare has a somber heart, the very grotesques of Dickens throw a shadow on the understanding mind. If tragedy is foreign to us, then so are birth and love and death and all spiritual conflict, then we are apes or gods but not men!" The critic gasped. He hadn't meant to preach. He was known as a sinister "high-brow" even so. He smiled wryly. "Have it your own way," he said. "But what a world you're making: bevo instead of beer, drug-shops instead of taverns, flirting instead of love, shop-work instead of Greek, business instead of beauty, and 'Tillie's Triumphs' instead of tragedy!"

With cool precision the Voice—it seemed a collective Voice—floated above the dead silence: "You do not understand the theater."

"And you," retorted the critic wearily, "understand nothing else."

He turned and, by some magic, found his coat and hat ready to his hand. Outside the bluish dark was splashed by the lights of Broadway. The stars had no chance against that glitter. He walked in the opposite direction. He needed a peace far from the theater. But near the corner of Seventh Avenue a round, comfortable little figure of a man, moon-faced and pudgy-fisted, rolled against him, and he heard, in a moment, the ingratiating purr of a soft Irish intonation: "Come to see the little play next week. It's only a bit of craft. But the 'old man' doesn't let anything fail. It ought to play to good business. Some day, though, I'm going to write a play I've got in mind and publish it. That'll be my real work. I'll send you . . ."

But the critic had turned swiftly and melted into the more solid darkness farther West.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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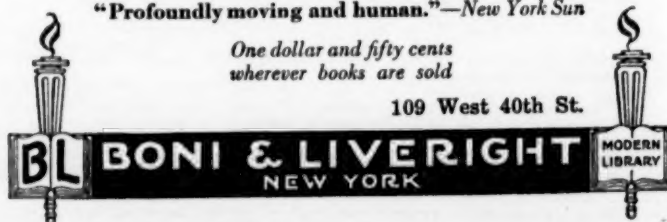
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# International Relations Section

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## British Labor and the Irish Settlement

**T**HE report of the Commission of the British Parliamentary Labor party, printed below, is of particular interest at the present time. The members of the Commission—Mr. Arthur Henderson, Mr. H. S. Lindsay, and Mr. William Adamson—visited Dublin, Thurles, Tipperary, Cork, Limerick, and Belfast.

Ireland is suffering today from a malady which has many evil effects, but only one cause. The frustration of national aspirations in social as well as political affairs has produced a feeling of bitter resentment, transmitted from one generation to another, against British rule. Nothing that the British Administration has done or can do in mitigating the conditions of life for the Irish population alters this feeling. Ireland is utterly estranged. The problem of Ireland, as the Labor delegation sees it, is a problem of political pathology.

Much of the prevailing discontent is unquestionably to be attributed to the methods of the present Administration. Apart from the wider claim of the Irish people to the control of their own affairs, these methods would drive any spirited nation into a state of deep-seated and dangerous discontent. Where the Administration is not merely unintelligent it appears to be deliberately provocative. Over the greater part of Ireland the belief exists that Dublin Castle pursues a policy of calculated provocation. The civil and military authorities between them have destroyed practically all the safeguards of political and personal liberty, and we have reason to believe that this policy of repression has driven many Nationalists belonging to the constitutional school into the arms of Sinn Fein.

Raids on private dwellings are a common occurrence. To be found in possession of political leaflets means immediate arrest. A gathering of three or more persons is an illegal assembly. Fairs and markets, which are an essential part of the machinery of Irish trade, are prohibited; trade union meetings, even national games and pastimes, are forbidden; musical festivals and literary and debating societies of the most harmless character are regarded as conspiracies. In a word, every institution of which we as British citizens are so proud—a free press, freedom of speech, liberty of the subject, and trial by jury—are things of the past in a large part of Ireland, and rule by military force, which we sought to destroy when resorted to by Germany, is an established fact in south and southwest Ireland today. These facts are fatal to our reputation for national good faith, and cannot fail to prejudice our national standing in the eyes of our self-governing Dominions and the Dependencies.

The repressive measures adopted by the Administration have serious economic effects, in addition to the moral and political harm they do. The prohibition of markets and fairs was stated in Tipperary to have increased the cost of living by 125 per cent. It had prejudicially affected the turnover of the town by £23,000 a week. Among other results, it had driven the price of potatoes, in the heart of Tipperary County, to 3s. a stone.

Three illustrations of the quite senseless attitude of the Administration may be cited here as particularly flagrant examples. One is the prohibition of the annual Irish fair, an important event in the business life of the country. Elaborate arrangements had been made for the event, which was to have been held in Dublin. Exhibits came in from all parts of the

country and many visitors were arriving when the fair was prohibited, on the very eve of its opening. Its chief organizer, Alderman Thomas Kelly, who has since been elected Lord Mayor of Dublin, was arrested and imprisoned in Wormwood Scrubs, without trial, and without any charge being preferred against him. The Labor delegation failed to elicit any popular explanation of the action of the authorities, except the suggestion that they desired to inflict injury upon Irish trade.

A similar observation must be made in the case of the measures taken against the Sinn Fein Commission to investigate the present position and future development of Irish industry. It is true that the Commission was appointed and financed by the Sinn Fein Parliament (Dail Eireann), which has been declared illegal; but the work of the Commission was at least entitled to the same approval that would have been given to a similar inquiry by any political party or chamber of commerce in this country. The Commission represented every shade of opinion in Ireland—Nationalist, Labor, Unionist, and Sinn Fein—and its first act was to declare itself free from any political control or direction, and its chairman informed the Labor delegation that no political discussions were permitted at its meetings. We were in Cork when its members were ejected by the police from the City Hall, where accommodation was to be placed at their disposal by the Lord Mayor, whose control over the municipal building and whose permission to the Commission to enter, given in our presence, were over-ridden by the police.

Then, again, there is the case of the Gaelic League, which is a body formed for the purpose of promoting the Irish language, Irish dress, Irish habit of thought, and so on. It was formerly a very mixed body, but latterly has been captured by the Sinn Feiners, and undoubtedly here and there, at public meetings, speeches have been made advocating an Irish Republic. But when all is said and done, the Gaelic League comprised, and still comprises, within its ranks many people who do not believe in an Irish Republic, and until recently, at any rate, its subscription list included the names of many persons whose views are well known to be antagonistic to Sinn Fein. This League was proclaimed as a dangerous association by the Civil Executive.

In enforcing the policy of repression illustrated by these examples, the authorities or their agents were charged in many cases with having done wanton damage to the property of the people whom they assailed. By the police and the military the people are treated as a conquered race whose attitude towards their conquerors entitles them to no mercy or forbearance.

Among the southern Unionists the Labor delegation found defenders of the policy of repression, on the ground that law and order must be maintained with a firm hand. The chief reason assigned for the imposition of martial law and the application of D. O. R. A. was the shooting of individual policemen. While we condemn unreservedly all such political outrages, which are unhappily a common result of unsettled political conditions such as exist in Ireland at the present time, we are bound to say that no evidence was forthcoming to prove that the shooting of policemen preceded the application of the policy of rigorous repression. The arguments for coercion and condemnation of terrorism move in a vicious circle, because they become arguments against the establishment of self-government in Ireland; the advocates of coercion insist that the restoration of law and order must precede self-government, and that the Government cannot yield to intimidation; but when the country is dragooned into submission its sullen quiescence becomes to these advocates a proof that there is no general demand for self-government, and that all Ireland needed was the few years of "resolute government" prescribed by the late Lord Salisbury.

Acts of violence are deplorably frequent in Ireland, but they are not all on one side, and we are convinced that on the popular side they are the work of irresponsible extremists and form no part of the policy and program of any organized body of Irish opinion.

For the administration of justice in south and southwest Ireland there is nothing but popular contempt. It is English justice, where every crime is regarded as a political act and almost every political act is made a crime; the judgments of the Courts are treated as mere incidents in the political struggle. It is no disgrace to have been in prison; it is a mark of patriotism. Resident magistrates who deal with important cases at Petty Sessions are removable at the will of the Lord Lieutenant; and when their decisions do not meet with the approval of Dublin Castle they are, we were informed, rebuked, the rebuke carrying with it the implied threat of dismissal if their future decisions are not exactly consonant with the Castle policy.

The High Court Bench is mainly Unionist. Political bias tinges the charge to Grand Juries in reference to the state of the country, and political feeling often determines judgment. There is no record that any Irish judge condemned the rebellious Ulster movement in 1913-1914, which was led by an eminent King's Counsel, but today all the Irish judges condemn Southern "sedition." The contempt with which the Courts are regarded is the direct reflex of the general misrule. The English Administration is thoroughly discredited. The very first step towards the pacification of Ireland is a complete change in the methods of governing the country and in the personnel of its governors.

An earnest effort was made by the Labor delegation to ascertain the position of the several political parties and groups in relation to the question of self-government, and to form an estimate of the amount of popular support they command. Out of 1,032,829 votes cast for contested seats, the Unionists secured 297,437, Sinn Fein 484,526, and the Nationalists 232,909. The Unionists obtained 26 seats, Sinn Fein 73 (25 uncontested), and the Nationalists 6. It has been estimated that the representation of Ireland (including the University seats) on a proportional representation system would have been Unionists 24, Nationalists 23, Independent 1, giving a total of 48 non-Sinn Feiners as against 57 Sinn Feiners. In this connection, it is necessary to state that the Sinn Fein representatives declare they were elected to attend, not the Parliament at Westminster, but an Irish Parliament in Dublin.

Whether the Sinn Fein vote was a vote for complete separation may be a matter of opinion. We desire in this matter to avoid sweeping generalizations. It is undeniable that Sinn Fein stands for the ideal of an Irish Republic. It does, in fact, claim that the Irish Republic is already in being, and that Dail Eireann is its Parliament. It is also undeniable that in some directions Sinn Fein functions as a *de facto* Government. It has established Courts whose decisions are respected, and issues decrees that are obeyed by a very considerable part of the population. Its authority, unlike that of the English Government, is derived from the consent of a majority of the Irish electors who voted at the last general election. It has created Departments and appointed Ministers, including a Minister of Finance, whose first task was to raise a loan of one million sterling on the credit of the Irish Republic. It has appointed representatives abroad, and, as we have indicated, it has undertaken as one of its first duties the investigation by a Commission of the present position and future possibilities of Irish industry.

All these activities are declared illegal and unconstitutional; they are in form and effect a declaration of independence. It is part of the settled policy of Sinn Fein to ignore the British Parliament. No Sinn Fein member will attend at Westminster. Sinn Fein asserts the principle of self-determination to its fullest extent. It denies the right of England to keep Ireland within the British Empire without the consent of the Irish people. This is the extreme view, put with remarkable ability and force by Sinn Fein leaders, and it does beyond all question command a large measure of popular support.

At the other extreme stand the Unionists. The general Unionist view is represented by the Irish Unionist Alliance, a body which appointed a deputation representing the whole country

to meet the Labor delegation. This body stands for the maintenance of the Union against the policy of separation. It believes that neither the 1914 Act, nor the proposed new Bill, can solve the problem. A Parliament in Dublin, would, they say, at once declare for complete independence, and the policy would be one of hostility to England. It is not the Union, but maladministration, which is responsible for the present state of affairs in Ireland.

But Unionist opinion is divided. Some Unionists in the South, although opposed to self-government, are not in favor of partition. This section of the southern unionists is represented by the Anti-Partition League, which was not in existence before the war, and is an offshoot of the Irish Unionist Alliance. This body takes a more reasonable view. It suggests a course of remedial legislation as the first essential, and thinks the completion of land purchase and a comprehensive housing scheme would tend to allay political discontent. But if self-government must come, they say, it should be on the lines of the Convention, so that the Unionists in the South would have the support of Ulster. But the first condition of any such settlement, in the view of the Anti-Partition Unionists, must be the restoration of law and order.

Labor also is divided. In the South it demands not so much an Irish Republic as full freedom for Ireland to determine its own future, including its relations with England. In their opinion, a free Ireland would be prepared to give self-government to Ulster, but not with a British army in occupation. Labor in the South believes that Ulster is changing, especially the Ulster workmen, and Ulster is not homogeneous; even in Antrim, the strongest Orange county, Catholics form 20 per cent of the population, and there are many Protestant Home Rulers there. The Irish Trades Union Congress and Labor party, whose headquarters are in Dublin, with a total affiliated membership of 300,000 Trade Unionists, has passed a resolution that any Labor candidates elected to Parliament shall absent themselves from Westminster.

In the North, Labor is influenced far too much by religious animosities to take an unprejudiced view of the situation. In the Trade Union branches there Home Rule discussions are taboo. The Labor delegation formed the opinion that there are a large number of Ulster workmen who are in favor of Home Rule and against partition. Many support the suggestion of calling a constituent assembly, on the basis of proportional representation, to draft a Constitution for the country. It was stated that the 1914 Act would have met with strong opposition from Ulster, but not from Ulster as a whole, and the opposition would have come almost entirely from four Ulster counties. Many believe that if self-government were in force for some time the demand for independence would practically disappear.

From Trade Unionist members of the Unionists Labor Association no helpful suggestions were forthcoming. This association claims to be the most representative political body in the North. None of its members directly represent their Trade Unions, and the fact that Sir Edward Carson is its president, and employers are associated with it, discounts its claim to be a bona fide labor organization. That it echoes the political opinion of a substantial number of working people in Belfast, the Labor delegation is not prepared to deny; but its distrust of anything Catholic, its complete indifference to the fact that the great majority of the Irish people differ from it, and its total lack of representative authority, did not give weight to its views.

The Nationalist movement is at present almost totally eclipsed by Sinn Fein. It is, nevertheless, a vital movement, as the voting at the general election, and more recently in the municipal elections, indisputably proves. The Nationalist members are as resolute as ever for self-government, to be secured by constitutional means. But constitutional methods and the policy that dictates them are in abeyance at the present time, and the Nationalists have difficulty in keeping their followers together.



They have been discredited in a large part of Ireland, not by their own acts or by the objective failure of their policy, but by the acts and policy of the British Government, whose promises they trusted and by whom they were betrayed.

From this brief survey of organized opinion in Ireland it is clear that the country is overwhelmingly opposed to the present political system. This is in itself a sufficient justification for change. It is not the only reason. There is an economic case against the Union. It has been proved, beyond all question, that the majority of the Irish people are not happy under British rule. Neither are they normally as prosperous as they ought to be. Nationalist Ireland under alien domination is in a state of economic arrest.

In a report of this character we can only deal with the evidence on this aspect of the case in the broadest possible manner. According to Sinn Fein, the Union lays upon Ireland far too heavy a financial burden. They say over-taxation is proved, and point out that in 1894 the British Government appointed a Financial Relations Commission which unanimously reported in 1896 that Ireland has been over-taxed from the year 1800 by two and three-quarter millions a year. They maintain that in the last hundred years Irish taxation has been increased eleven-fold, whereas English taxation has been in the same period increased only five-fold. Since the report of the Commission cited above Irish taxation has been increased. The revenue derived from the country in 1919 was £37,275,000. . . . For 1920, the estimated Irish revenue is £43,000,000. Of this 1919 total only about twenty-two and one-half million was spent on Irish services, and this expenditure includes more than two and one-fourth million spent upon the police and the administration of justice; it also includes the odd fifty thousand for the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary.

The Labor delegation obtained sufficient information to show that practically nothing is being done at the present time to provide houses in Ireland. The problem is mainly urban. . . . Although it is impossible to obtain necessary supplies of cement and other building materials, practically nothing is done to exploit the materials available in many parts of Ireland suitable for the manufacture of cement, bricks, fireclay, and sanitary goods. The Labor delegation were informed that a number of brickworks were at a standstill for want of orders!

Many complaints were made regarding the scarcity of coal. In Limerick the people were paying for coal at the rate of 6s. 6d. a hundredweight, when it was obtainable. One reason for the shortage was a strike of laborers then in progress, which held up supplies from England; the strike was caused by the refusal of an importing company to pay fair wages. Another coal merchant, paying fair wages, had provided the town with coal until his allotted supplies were exhausted, under the regulation that supplies to a coal merchant must be based on his trade for a basic year. . . .

Related to this question of coal is the problem of developing Ireland's other sources of power. The Labor delegation could not obtain any evidence that plans were being made to utilize the power now running to waste in Irish rivers. A committee appointed by the British Board of Trade in 1918 to investigate the water-power resources of the United Kingdom set a sub-committee to report on Irish resources, but we have obtained no information regarding its activities.

Sinn Fein alleges that during the war Ireland was swept almost clean of timber, and little has been done in the way of replanting. (Dail Eireann has set up a Reafforestation Department and decreed a National Arbor Day.) The British Government has acquired about 7,000 acres of existing timber, and about 8,000 acres of mountain land for reafforestation, but only about 1,500 acres of the former have been planted or replanted, and of the latter about 500 acres. This is a very meager provision for a country where the forests were disappearing at the rate of 1,000 acres a year before the war, and at a very much greater rate since.

Canals and water transport are almost entirely neglected. Experts declare that many of the agricultural and cognate products of Ireland, such as potatoes, grain, and wool, are suitable for inland water transportation; much can be done to improve and extend the system of canals and waterways. Ports and harbors urgently require development, and the introduction of modern machinery for loading and discharging ships. Sea fisheries around Ireland compare very unfavorably with those of England and Scotland; and, here again, the explanation offered is that the yield of the Irish fisheries is deliberately discouraged. . . .

We have stressed these economic questions here because the neglect of Irish industry, under the Union, adds enormously to the difficulties and dangers of the political situation. Ireland can become prosperous. With an area twice as large as that of Denmark or Switzerland and three times as large as Belgium, with a population double that of Denmark and considerably in excess of that of Switzerland, its poverty and dependence are an economic anomaly. It is the only country in Europe with an increasing birth-rate. It is stated that there are today more men on the soil of Ireland than there were in 1914, the bulk of them young men who would normally have emigrated. It is in the interest of Ireland and, we believe, of the British Empire, conceived of as a commonwealth of free self-governing communities, that they should be encouraged to remain. To remain, work must be provided for them, and Ireland can provide it. But the economic regeneration of Ireland depends upon its achievement of political freedom.

No single "once-for-all" solution of the Irish problem can be applied in the present state of political feeling. Every conceivable remedy that can be suggested offers difficulties. One-word solutions, such as "separation" or "partition" raise more difficulties than they remove. We believe the solution lies somewhere between the extremes of the "no change" policy of Ulster and the "clear out" policy of Sinn Fein.

The Labor delegation came definitely to the conclusion that partition is no remedy, if only for the reason that Ireland is an economic entity. With regard to the demand for complete separation, politics is the art of the possible, and the opposition which this policy would encounter from British prejudices and Ulster interests renders this solution impossible without bloodshed and a dreadful embitterment of feeling which would, if Ireland were successful, destroy every possibility of friendly relations for many generations; and which would, if Ireland were unsuccessful, involve her continued subjection. We seek a settlement which will put an end to the disastrous and unnatural enmity between neighboring nations, each of which has need of what the other can give.

The Labor party is committed, as indeed the whole British nation is committed, to the principle of self-determination. The Prime Minister said, on January 5, 1918: "*Mere lip-service to the formula of . . . the principle of self-determination is useless.*" Again: "*We believe that before permanent peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled,*" and the second of these conditions was that "*territorial settlement must be secured based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed.*"

The acceptance of this principle implies the right of the Irish people to determine their own future. We believe that if Ireland were left free to decide whether she would remain within the Empire or become completely separated from it, the Irish people themselves, upon mature consideration, would decide that it was in their own interest that the link should not be completely severed. But there is a very vital distinction between Ireland remaining part of the United Kingdom under compulsion and remaining as the result of her own choice. Whatever form of Union may be maintained should be arranged by agreement through negotiation, and not imposed merely as the result of the greater power of what Lord Rosebery called "the predominant partner." It must be recognized that an immediate

decision on the issue of Union or Separation might not be a true reflex of the considered opinion of the majority of the Irish people. The present atmosphere is neither healthy nor normal. The people have always suffered in the recollection of age-long grievances, they are not unnaturally suspicious of the British Government owing to past betrayals, they remember in a spirit of resentment the Revolution and the ruthless execution by the British Government of those who "offered their lives in the cause of Irish freedom," and the subsequent effort to impose compulsory military service; they are bitterly incensed against the present régime of martial law. These factors are calculated to prejudice any attempt to ascertain the considered and mature opinion of the Irish people on the question of Union or Separation, and they might result in the sacrificing of Ireland's ultimate interests to the immediate satisfaction that might be gained by a total repudiation of any form of connection with their old-time political oppressors. The first essential is to change the attitude of the people due to generations of unavailing struggle for freedom.

We consider, therefore, that the principle of self-determination should be acknowledged by the British Government in the case of Ireland, just as it is admitted in the case of the self-governing Dominions, but that the Constitution conferring self-government on Ireland should not be subject to revision by the Irish people until after an agreed number of years, during which under self-government they would have an opportunity to return to a more normal state of mind, free from the prejudices and animosities engendered by the failure of British Governments in the past to satisfy Irish demands.

Our discussions in Ireland lead us to believe that either of the following alternatives would be acceptable to the majority of the Irish people. Firstly, a full measure of Dominion Self-Government, with provision for the protection of minorities, questions of defense and foreign relations being reserved to the Imperial Parliament. It is not suggested that the scheme would meet with the unanimous approval of the whole of the Irish people, but so far as we could ascertain it promises to be a solution that would secure the greatest measure of support, and in this particular respect it has a decided advantage over the Prime Minister's present scheme, which meets with practically unanimous disapproval.

The second alternative which meets with a substantial measure of approval in Ireland is that the form of self-government to be established should be decided upon by an Irish constituent assembly representing the whole Irish people and elected on a system of proportional representation, which would be charged with the task of drafting the new Constitution and making provision for the protection of minorities, questions of defense and foreign relations being reserved to the Imperial Parliament.

The Labor delegation hold strongly the view that the ultimate guarantee of better relations between the two countries lies in the Irish people being convinced that the economic regeneration of Ireland rests in their own hands. A Labor Government in England would, of course, offer every help that a free Ireland might reasonably ask for in her task of developing industry, and would coöperate with Irish labor in introducing and maintaining international labor standards. But the regeneration of Irish life and Irish industry should be Ireland's opportunity and responsibility. And Labor wants to place Ireland in the position to deal with it.

The responsibility for the present condition of Ireland does not rest with Labor. We make our proposals for the immediate solution of the Irish problem in the spirit in which we conceive it would be approached by a Labor Government. The Government now in power has incurred, like past Governments, the distrust and suspicion of the Irish people. British Labor is not in this position, and lies under no suspicion of political cynicism in appealing to the Irish people to coöperate in the task of finding a solution. But Labor is not in power and the Irish problem is urgent. It constitutes a reproach to the Brit-

ish people in the eyes of other nations. Britain has done much to extend the boundaries of political freedom in the world at large, and Irish soldiers have died to bring freedom to the people of other lands. We do not believe the British people desire to keep Ireland in a state of subjection; they want Ireland to become a free partner in the British commonwealth of free self-governing communities, which men of Irish blood have helped to create, to further the ideal of political democracy. There can be no achievement of our generation greater than to find a solution of this century-old problem. British Labor puts forward its proposals in the belief that they will command the assent of the people of this country, and prove acceptable to the majority of the Irish people. We appeal to both nations to coöperate in carrying them into practical effect without further delay.

## The Stand of the Labor Party

The following resolution was adopted by the Eighteenth Annual Conference of the Labor party at London in June, 1918:

That the Conference unhesitatingly recognizes the claim of the people of Ireland to Home Rule, and to self-determination in all exclusively Irish affairs; it protests against the stubborn resistance to a democratic reorganization of Irish government by those who, alike in Ireland and Great Britain, are striving to keep minorities dominant; and it demands that a wide and generous measure of Home Rule, on the lines indicated by the proceedings of the Irish Convention, should be immediately passed into law and put into operation.

## The Irish Home Rule Bill

THE Irish Home Rule Bill as it was formally introduced in the House of Commons on February 27, provides for a Parliament of 52 members for Northern Ireland which is to consist of the counties of Londonderry, Antrim, Down, Armagh, Fermanagh, and Tyrone, and the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, (one-third of Tyrone at the elections of 1918 was Sinn Féin, and one-third Nationalist). The remaining portion, or Southern Ireland, is to have a Parliament of 128 members, members in both cases to be elected by proportional representation. The powers of either of these Parliaments are not to be affected by any vacancy therein, or by any disqualification of any member.

Besides the Provincial Parliaments there is to be a Council of Ireland consisting of a President appointed by the Crown, and twenty members from each Parliament. This Council is to deal with legislation affecting both Northern and Southern Ireland. At any time by joint action of the Provincial Parliaments the Council may be displaced by a single Parliament of one or two houses with the King at its head, and this Parliament may determine its own membership, mode of elections, etc., and may pass legislation dealing with the two sections of Ireland, and any other legislation delegated to it by joint action of the separate Parliaments.

The Provincial Parliaments may pass all legislation concerning their respective areas, except in matters reserved to the Imperial Parliament, such as legislation relating to peace and war, the army and navy, treason, aliens and naturalization, foreign trade, and coinage. They may levy taxes except customs and excise duties, and excess profits and income taxes, which are reserved to and collected by the Imperial Parliament. Ireland's share of the reserved taxes will be returned to her each year. The separate Parliaments may not pass any appropriation bills unless they are recommended by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. No religious restrictions may be imposed for any reason.



The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, appointed by the Crown, is to be the executive. He is to appoint his own heads of departments, who, together with others whom he may select, are to be Provincial Ministers, to hold office during his pleasure. The Provincial Ministers form the Executive Committee of the Privy Council of Ireland to advise the Lord Lieutenant in the exercise of his duties.

Imperial control of the Royal Irish Constabulary and of the Metropolitan Police is to be retained for three years only, after which it is to be placed in the hands of the Provincial Parliaments, which are to be officially responsible for the maintenance of law and order. During the three remaining years of Government control, the police and constabulary are to be governed by a committee of three, one chosen from each Provincial Parliament and one appointed by the Crown. The postal service and savings banks are to be administered by the Imperial Parliament until after the date of the dissolution of the Council of Ireland and the establishment of the joint Parliament, mentioned above, or by a joint Act of the two Parliaments.

An Imperial levy of 18,000,000 pounds is to be laid annually for two years. At the end of that time the amount of the levy is to be re-determined, depending upon the total annual income, by a Joint Exchequer Board. The amount may be fixed anew at five-year intervals. As long as the levy is 18,000,000 pounds, Southern Ireland is to pay 56 per cent of it, and Northern Ireland 44 per cent. After the preliminary two-year period, this proportion also is subject to change.

In place of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Ireland there are to be set up Supreme Courts for Northern and Southern Ireland, each to consist of a High Court and a Court of Appeals. In addition there is to be a High Court of Appeals for all Ireland, from which in certain cases appeal may be made to the House of Lords.

Forty-two members are to be elected from Ireland to the British Parliament, thirty from Southern and twelve from Northern Ireland. These are to be chosen from districts determined by the present bill, and the Irish Members of the House of Commons now entitled to seats are to vacate them on the appointed day and writs are to be issued for the election of new members.

The Bill passed its second reading on March 31 by a vote of 348 to 94. The minority was composed as follows: Labor 43, Independent Liberals 20, Conservatives 24, Irish Nationalists 7. Sir Edward Carson and the Ulster members abstained from voting.

## Circumventing the Curfew

**I**N answer to the curfew order issued by the British military authorities in Dublin forbidding all citizens without permits to be on the streets between midnight and five o'clock in the morning, the Dublin Corporation adopted the following report:

1. That the Council refuses permission to any employee or official to apply for permits to the English Military Government for the discharge of any of the municipal duties.

2. That the Council orders the cessation of such municipal services as might endanger the lives of our officials or employees during the imposition of martial law, and the night watchmen shall leave their duty by 11 p.m. and resume at 6 a.m.

3. That the Lighting Committee be directed to see that the public lamps are extinguished at such an hour as permits of the completion of work by 11.30 p.m.

4. That this Council refuses to authorize the payment of overtime to any man in respect of work done between 12 midnight and 5 a.m., for which a permit has been obtained.

Until further order any dispute or difficulty in carrying out the above recommendations shall be submitted to a joint committee.

## Events of the Week

**MARCH 27.** As a result of plans made at the International Trade Conference at Atlantic City last October, a new International Chamber of Commerce will be organized at Paris during the week of June 21. Business organizations in all the principal countries of the world will participate eventually, but at the start only five countries—the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Belgium—will have membership.

**MARCH 28.** The Mexican Embassy announces that the Mexican Treasury has decided to resume payments of interest on its external debt, which amounts to about \$100,000,000, and about a third of which is held in the United States. Interest payments have been accruing at the rate of \$12,000,000 annually for seven years, it is calculated. A Bank of the Republic will also be established.

**MARCH 29.** At Asuncion, Paraguay, labor unions and shopkeepers voted to continue their "money strike" as a protest against the depreciation of Paraguayan paper money. It was announced that no work would be resumed and no shops reopened until the Chamber of Commerce and the public authorities adopted the practice of transacting business on the old basis.

**APRIL 1.** The Peruvian Government has engaged the services of Major General William C. Gorgas, former Surgeon General of the United States Army, as a sanitary expert. He has accepted a five years' contract.

The Commission appointed by the League of Nations Council to investigate the situation in Soviet Russia will have no official American representative, as the Government takes the position that non-membership in the League precludes participation in the Commission's work.

Ian MacPherson, Chief Secretary for Ireland, has resigned his office and his resignation has been officially accepted. Sir Hamar Greenwood, Under Secretary for Home Affairs, has been offered the Secretaryship.

The Supreme Allied Council has offered the League of Nations a mandate for Armenia. The French are to maintain protection of Cilicia, but all other Armenian territories would be included in the mandate and an outlet to the Black Sea provided.

**APRIL 2.** In reply to the proposal of the Polish Government for peace negotiations to be held at Borisov between Poland and Soviet Russia, the Russian Soviet Government suggested an armistice along the whole battlefield during the negotiations and asked that the peace conference be held in Esthonia. Poland now rejects the proposal for an armistice and also opposes Esthonia as the seat of the conference, inasmuch as Esthonia has negotiated a treaty with Russia and violated the terms of its treaty with Poland.

A peaceful demonstration was made by 3,000 Filipino farmers headed by the provincial Governor of Rizal, who had walked 18 miles to present to Governor General Harrison a petition against the sale of Payaas Hacienda to the Japanese by the Spanish owners. The estate consists of 13,000 acres, or about half of the arable land in the municipalities of Marikina, San Mateo, and Montalban, 80 per cent of whose inhabitants depend upon it for their living.

**APRIL 3.** Japan has notified the State Department of the United States that its troops must be maintained in Siberia on account of the danger to Japanese citizens in that country and on account of the unsettled political conditions which "menace" Manchuria and Korea. The Japanese Government, however, affirms that as soon as those conditions have been overcome, it will evacuate the country, "provided the Czecho-Slovaks have been completely withdrawn."

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